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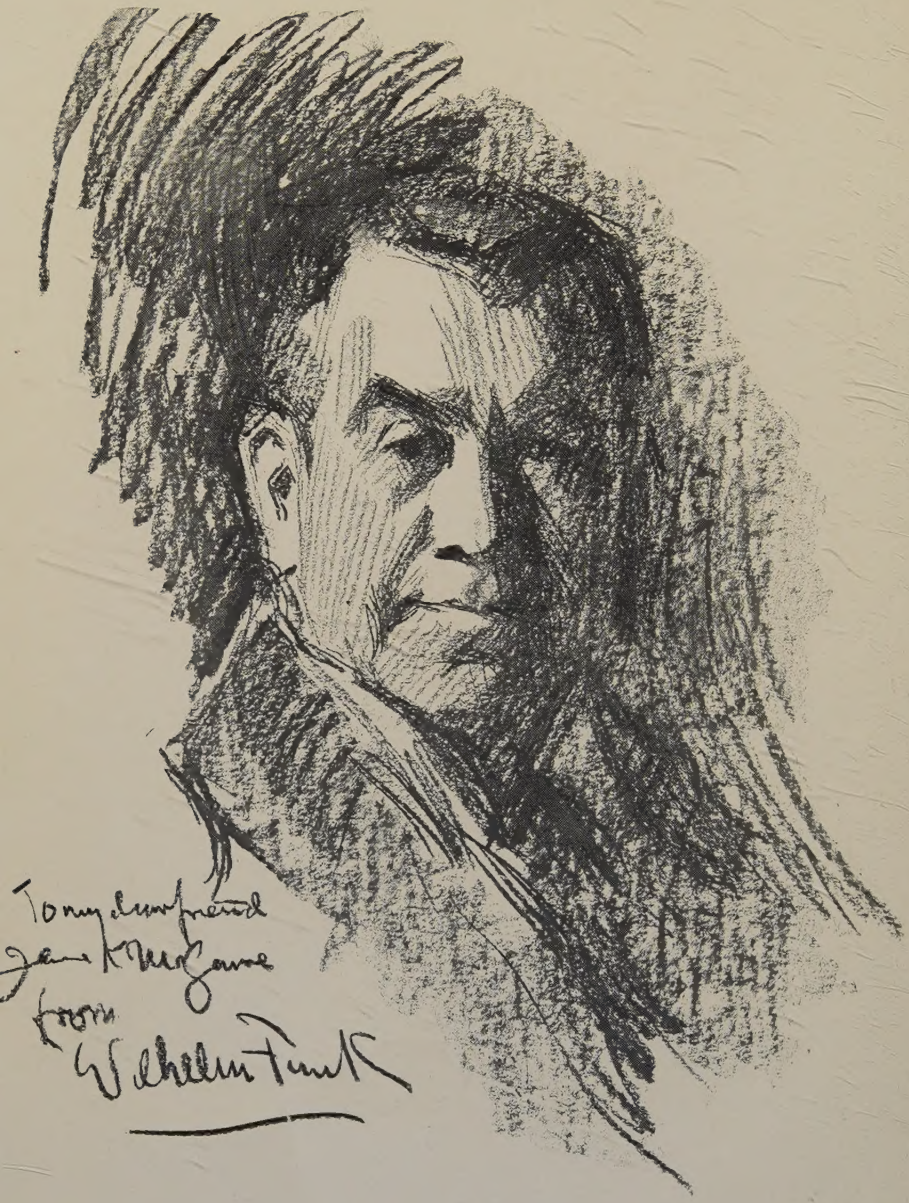
THE KING, THE KAISER AND IRISH FREEDOM



JAMES K. McGUIRE

THE KING, THE KAISER AND IRISH FREEDOM

BY

JAMES K. McGUIRE

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

to the millions of men and women of German blood in this country—who form the bulwarks of American civilization—to Johannes DeKalb and Steuben, the heroic and efficient soldiers and advisers of George Washington—to the memory of Germans who fought with Andrew Jackson against England in the War of 1812—to the German-American heroes of 1848—to the great numbers of Germans who fought for the freedom of men and the preservation of the American Union in the Civil War from 1861 to the year 1865—to their children in the Spanish-American War of 1898—to all the vast Teutonic elements of the United States whose efforts have placed our nation to the forefront in education and in all arts and sciences—a noble people from whom Americans learn to be efficient and thorough—to the thrifty, useful, industrious, patriotic children of the Fatherland.

JAMES K. MCGUIRE.

NEW YORK, March 4, 1915, the anniversary of Robert Emmet.

PREFACE

THIS book is made necessary by the studied violations of neutrality on the part of certain Anglo-American newspapers, by the misrepresentation of the true spirit of Irish nationality at home and abroad, by the vilification of Germany, the infamous distortion of the truth by various writers and, above all, by the growing probability that this section of unfair America, by no means in a majority, will destroy all hope of the United States becoming the arbiter at the end of the European war. The German people must understand that the Anglo-American newspaper is without real influence among the people and that in this war it does not represent the true state of public opinion.

The *Cologne Gazette,* perhaps one of the most important newspapers in Germany, declares that the atrocious falsehoods of the American press render impossible all hope of American intervention for peace and destroys all possibility of America having part in the settlement after the war, thus relegating our country to a most inferior position. We are regarded as a vassal of England and have lost our influence as a neutral state. Bishop Von Keppler, of Bavaria, the most eminent Catholic prelate of Germany, is quoted

as confirming the view of the *Cologne Gazette,* which adds:

"American neutrality has been favorable to Great Britain, and America has lost our confidence and must be rejected as an arbitrator."

JAMES K. MCGUIRE.

NEW YORK, March, 1915.

ENDORSEMENT

JAMES K. MCGUIRE is peculiarly fitted and especially endowed to write a book friendly to Germany. The first education he received in Syracuse was in a German school and his next schooling took place in the German school then in the basement of the Lutheran church in Butternut Street, Syracuse, New York. It is thirteen years since Mr. McGuire left Syracuse. During the thirty years he lived in our midst, no man occupied a warmer place in the hearts and affections of the German people. Long time Mayor of Syracuse, he always held the support of the German people, irrespective of party ties. It is perfectly natural for him to defend German ideals and causes, for he is a student and writer on German history, philosophy and poetry, as well as a firm friend and son of Ireland with an international reputation.

(Signed) ALEX. E. OBERLANDER.
Editor and Publisher of the *Deutche Union*,
Syracuse, New York.

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THE KING, THE KAISER, AND IRISH FREEDOM

CHAPTER I

SIR ROGER CASEMENT'S MISSION TO GERMANY

THE visit of Sir Roger Casement to the German foreign office at Berlin last November created considerable interest in America and no little consternation in England. Sir Roger Casement represented the real Nationalists in his visit and was selected by them as ambassador because he was known as a tried friend of the movement for the independence of Ireland.

The first newspaper to announce the result of his mission was the official organ of the German foreign office, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* which, on November 20, 1914, made the following announcement:

> The well-known Irish Nationalist, Sir Roger Casement, who recently arrived in Berlin from the United States, was received at the Foreign Office. Sir Roger Casement pointed out that there had been circulated in Ireland statements, apparently authorized by the British Government, to the effect that a German victory would inflict great injury upon the Irish people. Their

land, their habitations, their churches, and their priests would be handed over to the tender mercies of an army of invaders, whose only motives were plunder and conquest. Recent assertions of Mr. Redmond on the occasion of his recruiting tour through Ireland, as well as manifold editorial statement of the British press in Ireland, had, so Sir Roger explained, been widely circulated, and had naturally occasioned among the Irish fears respecting the attitude of Germany toward Ireland. In the event of a German victory, Sir Roger asked for a convincing declaration about Germany's intentions toward Ireland, such as might restore the equanimity of his fellow-countrymen throughout the world, but especially in Ireland and America, in view of the disturbing statements circulated from responsible British quarters. The Acting Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs thereupon made the following official statement on behalf of the Imperial Chancellor:

"The Imperial Government rejects with the utmost decision the evil intentions ascribed to it in the assertions quoted by Sir Roger Casement. The government takes this opportunity of making the categorical assurance that Germany cherishes only sentiments of good will for the prosperity of the Irish people, their land, and their institutions. The Imperial Government declares formally that Germany would not invade Ireland with any intentions of conquest or of the destruction of any institutions. If, in the course of this war, which Germany did not seek, the fortune of arms should ever bring German troops to the coasts of Ire-

land, they would land there, not as an army of invaders coming to rob or destroy, but as the fighting forces of a government inspired only by good will toward a land and a people for whom Germany only wishes national prosperity and national freedom."

The above statement was officially confirmed by the German Chancellor at Berlin, the German Foreign Office, and it was sent out officially by wireless from Berlin to London and America, via wireless to Sayville, Long Island, which is the only means of direct communication between Germany and the United States, since England cut the cables. Of course, very little news of this important declaration reached the country so seriously affected by it—deceived Ireland. Since the declaration of war by England against Germany, the Irish have been daily frightened into the belief that a German invasion would mean wreaking frightful atrocities on helpless women and children, the destruction of their homes and properties, and such cruelties as, they were fooled into believing, occurred hourly in Belgium. The bogies and the conjuring of the "German acts of barbarism" by Redmond, Devlin and O'Connor were the principal bits of stage property they had been using to secure recruits for the British

army. To lose this precious and essential bit of scenery would destroy the great act in the recruiting drama. In America the declaration ended the last hopes of Redmond's following, the remnants of the United Irish League vanished into thin air, the proposed meetings were called off and a feeling of solidarity among Irish Nationalists was created. Redmond stood aghast over this news, which, despite press censors, was filtering through, penetrating parts of Ireland and interfering with the recruiting programme. A few days of silence passed, when the London cables informed the Anglo-American press that poor Casement was insane and had been suffering from ill health, that he had been long a loyal son of Great Britain and was deserving of the greatest pity for his derangement. Observing Americans replied that while, possibly, Sir Roger Casement might have, according to English reports, a few "bats in his belfry," that there was no question about the brainy headpiece of the German Government and that "national freedom" for Ireland, with the aid of Germany, was no evidence of brainstorm. The evident plight of the English Government was pitiful while the real Irish Nationalists rejoiced.

The writer has been at some pains in investigating the record of Sir Roger Casement. His career is one of which any man might well feel proud. He is fifty years of age, born in County Antrim, near Belfast, an Ulster Protestant and a staunch friend and supporter of Irish independence. He has held important positions in the British foreign service without a blemish on his private or official record.

In 1895 he was British Consul for West Africa and Consul to the Congo Free State, which position he occupied for eleven years. He was sent to Brazil in 1906, declined the consul generalship of the West Indies in 1907 and was made consul general for Brazil in 1909.

His diplomatic ability and commercial specialization are of the highest order and he would have been elevated to the chief diplomatic posts but for his well-known view that his own country, Ireland, could only work out her destiny by separation from England. This was the same view held by the rebel of 1848, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, who rose to the position of Premier of Australia and who, to the day of his death, hoped to see the green flag flying over a free Ireland. Six weeks after the war broke out, Sir Roger

Casement sent this letter to the Irish newspapers:

Let Irishmen and boys stay in Ireland. Their duty is clear—before God and before man. We, as a people, have no quarrel with the German people. Germany has never wronged Ireland, and we owe her more than one debt of gratitude. It was not a German steamship company that, last summer, with the assent of the government making the contract, broke public faith with the Irish people and abandoned its pledged service with the port of Cork. But it was a German steamship company that tried to make good the breach of public trust and the injury to Irish trade that the Cunard Company had committed, and the British Postmaster-General, Admiralty, and Board of Trade had connived at. And it was another British department that made representation at Berlin, in behalf of English trade jealousy, and caused the German Emperor to intervene to induce the Hamburg-American line to substitute Southampton for Queenstown—a British for an Irish port. The hated German was welcome when he came to an English port—his help and enterprise were out of place when directed to assisting Irishmen to better means of intercourse with the outside world.

Sir Roger Casement is an Irishman of the purest patriotic gold. We take no pride in the constant allusions by England to her great military and naval commanders who are born in Ireland.

They are Tories and are opposed to the freedom of their own country. No patriotic Irishman rejoices in Lord Kitchener, Lord Roberts, Rear Admiral Callaghan or in the military genius of the Duke of Wellington. These men fought for England alone and never for Ireland. They were given their reward by England and no shrine is visited in Ireland which venerates their names. In bitterness of feeling toward Nationalist Ireland, these Irish saviours of England have outdone the descendants of Cromwell. It is not so with the able Irishman whose name heads this chapter, Roger Casement.

PROPHETIC

Extracts from the writings of Sir Roger Casement and written before the war:

Without Ireland there would be to-day no British Empire. The vital importance of Ireland to England is understood, but never proclaimed by any British statesman. To subdue that western and ocean-closing island and to exploit its resources, its people and, above all, its position, to the sole advantage of the eastern island, has been the set aim of every English government from the days of Henry VIII onwards.

* * * * *

Napoleon, too late in St. Helena, realized his error:

"Had I gone to Ireland instead of to Egypt the empire of England was at an end."

* * * * *

The power of the British fleet can never be permanently restrained until Ireland is restored to Europe. Germany has of necessity become the champion of European interests as opposed to the world dominion of England and English-speaking elements. She is today a dam, a great reservoir rapidly filling with human life that must some day find an outlet. England instead of wisely digging channels for the overflow has hardened her heart, like Pharaoh, and thinks to prevent it or to so divert the stream that it shall be lost and drunk up in the thirsty sands of an ever expanding Anglo-Saxondom. German laws, German language, German civilization, are to find no ground for replenishing, no soil to fertilize and make rich.

* * * * *

England relies on money. Germany on men. And just as Roman men beat Carthaginian mercenaries, so must German manhood, in the end, triumph over British finance. Just as Carthage in the hours of final shock, placing her gold where Romans put their gods, and never with a soul above her ships, fell before the people of United Italy, so shall the mightier Carthage of the North Seas, in spite of trade, shipping, colonies, the power of the purse and the hired valor of the foreign (Irish, Indian, African), go down before the men of United Germany.

* * * * *

In order to make sure the encompassing of Europe with a girdle of steel it is necessary to circle the United States with a girdle of lies. With America true to the policy of her great founder, an America "the friend of all Powers but the ally of none," English designs against European civilization must in the end fall. Those plans can succeed only by active American support, and to secure this is now the supreme task and aim of British stealth and skill. Every tool of her diplomacy, polished and unpolished, from the trained envoy to the boy scout and the minor poet, has been tried in turn. The pulpit, the bar, the press, the society hostess, the Cabinet Minister and the Cabinet Minister's wife, the ex-Cabinet Minister and the royal family itself, and last, but not least, even "Irish Nationality"—all have been pilgrims to that shrine, and each has been carefully primed, loaded, well-aimed, and then turned full on the weak spots in the armor of republican simplicity. To the success of these resources of panic the falsification of history becomes essential and the vilification of the most peace-loving people of Europe. The past relations of England with the United States are to be blotted out, and the American people, who are by blood so largely Germanic, are to be entrapped into an attitude of suspicion, hostility, and resentment against the country and race from whom they have received nothing but good. Germany is represented as the enemy, not to England's indefensible claim to own the seas, but to American ideals on the American Continent.

Just as the Teuton has become the "Enemy of Civilization" in the Old World because he alone has power, strength of mind, and force of purpose to seriously dispute the British hegemony of the seas, so he is assiduously represented as the only threat to American hegemony of the New World.

* * * * *

The birds of the forest are on the wing.

It is an empire in these straits that turns to America, through Ireland, to save it. And the price it offers is—war with Germany. France may serve for a time; but France, like Germany, is in Europe, and in the end it is all Europe and not only Germany England assails. Permanent confinement of the white races, as distinct from the Anglo-Saxon variety, can only be achieved by the active support and close alliance of the American people. These people are today, unhappily, republicans and freemen, and have no ill-will for Germany and a positive distaste for imperialism. It is not really in their blood. That blood is mainly Irish and German, the blood of men not distinguished in the past for successful piracy and addicted rather to the ways of peace. The wars that Germany has waged have been wars of defence, or wars to accomplish the unity of her people. Irish wars have been only against one enemy, and ending always in material disaster, they have conferred always a moral gain. Their memory uplifts the Irish heart; for no nation, no people, can reproach Ireland with having wronged them. She has injured no man.

And now, to-day, it is the great free race of this common origin of peace-loving peoples, filling another continent, that is being appealed to by every agency of crafty diplomacy, in every garb but that of truth, to aid the enemy of both and the arch-disturber of the Old World. The jailer of Ireland seeks Irish-American support to keep Ireland in prison; the intriguer against Germany would win German-American good-will against its parent stock. There can be no peace for mankind, no limit to the intrigues set on foot to assure Great Britain "the mastery of the seas."

BRITISH PLOT TO MURDER SIR ROGER CASEMENT FAILS

Sir Roger Casement expected to leave Berlin in February, 1915, for Christiania, Norway, to lay the proofs before the Norwegian Government of a conspiracy to capture and return him to England or kill him, the chief conspirator being Mansfield DeC. Findlay, the British Minister to Norway, who endeavored to bribe a servant in the employ of Sir Roger, one Adler A. Christenson, a Norwegian, who was to receive at least $25,000 as a reward for his treachery and betrayal of his master, if successful. Sir Roger Casement has shown copies of the correspondence exposing the conspiracy to the German Foreign Office and

photographic copies are being sent by Sir Roger to his friends on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. He is regarded by the British Government in exactly the same light as Robert Emmet and other patriots who were swung to their death from British scaffolds. If captured and brought to England, this patriotic Irishman will be charged with high treason to the Crown and executed. Fearing that the difficulties of capturing him could not be surmounted, the British Minister to Norway instructed Christenson to lure Sir Roger Casement to a point on the coast, where a British ship could run in and get him, "or, still better, knock him on the head." Announcement is officially made from the Berlin Foreign Office that the discovery of the conspiracy has been submitted to the American Ambassador and that copies will be sent to Secretary of State Bryan, at Washington. England must get rid of Casement at any cost, for he represents the true spirit of Irish nationality, which is the faith and hope of the sons and daughters of the Celts and the Gaels throughout the world.

The English spy system has been developed to an extraordinary degree. There are few pages of Irish history free from the sinister story of

the spy and the informer. Where the system of paid spies fails, the lure of British gold to bribe the servants of illustrious Irishmen to betray their masters is a common occurrence in the history of the British Empire. The servant of Sir Roger Casement proved incorruptible, otherwise another Irish patriot would have been destroyed.

UNANSWERABLE

If the Kaiser wanted to break the peace of the world, why should he have waited until his country was ringed round with hostile alliances? If he wanted war with his present opponents, why did he refrain from urging war on England when the English armies were engaged in sanguinary combat with the Boer Republic or with the Russians during their life and death struggle with the Japanese hosts? Is he not the only great ruler in the world who kept his country at peace from the beginning of his reign and for more than a quarter of a century?

EMPEROR WILLIAM OF GERMANY

"Sie haben mir das Schwert in die Hand gedrückt; ich kann nicht anders."

"They have forced the sword into my hand. I cannot do otherwise."

CHAPTER II

EMPEROR WILLIAM OF GERMANY

"Sie haben mir das Schwert in die Hand gedrückt: ich kann nicht anders." ("They have forced the sword into my hand. I cannot do otherwise.")

These were the words from the lips of the Kaiser as the command went forth to the German people to defend the Fatherland against the nations who had hemmed them in. The patriotic reply was unanimous and instantaneous. No such evidence of the solidarity of a great nation, faced by a common danger, is furnished by the world's history. The dulled legions of Russia responded slowly while revolutions burst forth throughout the vast Russian Empire. England declared war on Germany with her cabinet split in twain, the war denounced in Parliament, followed by sedition in Ireland, protests in Canada, armed rebellion in the Transvaal and Orange State, mutinies in India and revolution in Egypt. The government of Portugal is still in a state of disorder over

its entrance to the war theatre. The divisions in Turkey are apparent.

In Germany the people are united. All party lines have fallen—to be rebuilt after the war along new alignments, but *now* the motto is "One for all—all for one." While the whole world, with mixed feelings and bated breath, watches its most interesting figure—the Kaiser. They contrast that strong figure and resolute face with the weak apparitions and mediæval figures of King George and the Czar of the Russias, and they find in the Emperor the very embodiment of the German progress and efficiency which earned the hate and jealousy of the mistress of the seas. All of the numerous German political divisions have been unified in support of the Kaiser—the great Socialist party, the Catholic party (the centre), the Conservatives, Poles, National Liberals and Progressives.

The private life and domestic virtues of William of Germany typify in their practice the dominant and indestructible features of all that is best in the German character. He is one of the few kings in the history of the world untainted by scandal or weakened by vice. His affection for his family, his devotion to his friends, his

abstemious habits, the Spartan simplicity of his personal living, are admired by all observers. He rises at five in the morning, works many hours of the day and night and is Emperor in fact as well as in name. His motto is, "Rest means rust." He finds time for simple amusements, outdoor exercise, and visitors find him one of the freshest and most alert men in Europe. No one more than he realizes that the German problem is economic, and therefore he studies all important works of political economy and is the keenest student on a throne of the progress of governments. He went to war, as he believed, to save the future of Germany. Mr. Andrew Carnegie said, "The Emperor was the most sorrowful man in the world when he realized that war could not be averted."

For three centuries religious differences had created a sharp cleavage in the German states. Fierce and prolonged wars had been fought between sects of Christians. Under the reign of the present ruler, Protestants, Catholics and Jews live together in the greatest harmony. The broad spirit and tolerance of the Emperor, his catholic view of all worshippers or non-believers, are contrasted with the religious persecutions sponsored

by the Czar of Russia and the French Government. The latter drives the nuns from France during the same period that the Jews are being persecuted and murdered in Russia. The King of England refuses to permit his army to enforce the terms of a Home Rule Bill, thrice voted by Parliament, lest the law be followed by armed rebellion in the name of religion. Under Emperor William, for twenty-six years Germany has known religious peace.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND LENGTHENING THE AMERICAN BREAD LINE

SYMPATHY for the Belgians is general in America and England has taken every advantage of that feeling to hide her tracks in the work of destroying American commerce on the high seas. The average American citizen is a curious combination of the Yankee trader and the sentimentalist. More than any other nation, we are carried off our feet by great gusts of sympathy for a stricken people. This was the case with the downfall of Poland, of Hungary, and of Ireland. Only two foreigners that the writer recalls have been permitted to address the Congress of the United States. One was Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot; the second, Charles Stewart Parnell, the Irish leader.

But we soon forget our sympathy and reaction sets in when the principal American nerves, the pocket nerves, ache and throb too long. He is blind indeed who fails to see that the German cause has greatly advanced in the month of Jan-

uary, 1915, in all sections of the United States. Not only is Thought gradually working itself clear, but the American who wants to be fair is beginning to warm toward the side where 100,000,000 people struggle against 700,000,000, and with the products of the rest of the world aiding this huge majority and neutral countries working overtime supplying the *allies alone* with armament and war supplies. Overtopping all, the American is commencing to realize that canny England, not Germany, is depriving the United States of her commerce. Never does a German man-of-war seize an American ship for contraband. All of these outrages have been perpetrated by the ruler of the seas. At last Uncle Sam is awake and is questioning England, as he questioned her in 1861, and the average citizen is sitting up and taking notice of the answer.

The cotton planters down South last year, who sold Germany 2,350,000 bales of cotton, are forgetting some of Belgium's horrors in their own woes as they realize that the British embargo cut off the German and Austrian market, drove cotton down to famine prices, enabled the shrewd English cotton mill buyers to get cotton at a frightful loss to the American planter and at a

huge profit to the English buyer. Your cotton planter is writing letters by the thousands now telling how the English worked the most successful trade trick known to man and, after making the planter practically give away his cotton, then lifted it from the contraband list so that Germany and Austria would pay more. But all at the expense of the cotton growers of the South. The sunburnt man under the soft wool hat in Dixie is digging up his school histories these days to remind his neighbors of Marion the Swamp Fox who hunted the British redcoats out of South Carolina, and he is reading up the riflemen of the swamps and forests of the Southland who drove the last remnants of Great Britain from the United States in 1815, when Andrew Jackson, the son of an expatriated Irish linen weaver, from Carrickfergus, defeated Pakenham at New Orleans. And when he considers his cotton losses and the history of his country, his viewpoint of Germany changes wonderfully.

Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, writing to Ambassador Pinckney at London, said: "Great Britain might feel the desire of starving an enemy nation, but she can have no right of

doing it at our loss nor of making us the instrument of it."

Great Britain has destroyed the commerce of the United States, an innocent party in the war, with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, and to an important extent with neutrals like Denmark, Holland and Italy. Her policy of starving Germany out is actually creating more cases of starvation in the United States than in Germany. There are few unemployed in Germany, because the government has succeeded in paying wages, through public and private work, to all left at home.

Let us see why so many workmen in American agricultural implement factories are idle. Last year Germany bought of us $3,000,000 worth of mowers and reapers; hay rakes, $64,000; planters, $20,000; plows, $213,000; threshers, $261,000. At $2.50 per day in wages, that loss accounts for nearly 5,000 idle men. In brass goods she took $1,642,000, which loss throws 2,000 brass workers out of work. Starving out the Germans and Austrians will cost the farmers of the United States not less than $40,000,000 in a year.

Germany absorbs one-half of the exported

American wood alcohol used in the arts. Last year she with Austria took $50,000,000 of our copper and copper wares. Averaging the wages of the Montana and Michigan miners at $4 per day, that means 40,000 copper miners and workers added to the bread line. In bleached cotton cloth she took from us $1,260,000; cotton waste, $1,000,000; corsets, $88,000; mixed goods, $178,000; phosphate, $2,700,000; binder twine, $91,000; dried apples, $1,208,000; ripe apples, $1,209,000; apricots, $800,000; peaches, $170,000; prunes, $2,110,000; glue, $78,000; rubber goods, $1,200,000; shoes, $132,000; iron and steel products, $4,800,000; adding machines, $370,000; cash registers, $1,200,000.

Now figures are usually dry reading and we will not continue, but the statement can be safely made that England, by declaring practically everything contraband intended for Germany and Austria, excepting cotton, has thrown out of employment and reduced to a state of want from 350,000 to 450,000 men, to say nothing of the fearful curtailment of trade and traffic in other directions.

The oldest living Americans recall the days when the American flag flew over thousands of

fast clippers, when more than three-fourths of the commerce of our country was carried in American bottoms. He reads from his history how England took advantage of the Civil War to seize American trade and, having destroyed our commerce as our country lay prostrate, the oldest citizen is surprised at the present generation, which seems supine and helpless to protect its own products from the dominant power on the high seas. Men are asking themselves, at this hour, by what right does England persist in destroying our commerce, making an innocent nation suffer and increasing the store of human misery in this country. The patriotic American is insisting on an answer to the query why American products on the high seas should not be held as sacred as though they were on land. The world may be suffering from Militarism, but America surely is declining because she is held at the mercy of a relentless foreign Navalism.

The American war of 1812 with England was due chiefly to British interference with our export trade. The writer has read the famous debate from the annals of Congress in January, 1812. John Randolph, of Virginia, denounced the bill to increase the army. He denounced his

colleagues in the Senate who resented the unfriendly commercial acts of England in taking American goods as contraband. He was answered by Senator John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, who said: "A nation commands respect which insists on protecting its commerce. We resent the depredation on every branch of our commerce, including our direct export trade and the products of our fields and farms. What shall we do, abandon or defend our own commercial and maritime rights and the personal liberties of our citizens in exercising them?"

One of the greatest men of the period, perhaps the greatest, was Henry Clay, of Kentucky, thrice a candidate for President, the idol and leader of the Whig Party. He was speaker of the House of Representatives and on the last day of December, 1811, he took the floor to defend the army measure, and he said: "For argument's sake, let us concede the fact that the French Emperor is aiming at universal empire; can Great Britain challenge our sympathies when, instead of putting forth her arms to protect the world, she has converted the war into a means of self-aggrandizement; when, under pretence of defending them, she has destroyed the

commerce and abused the rights of every neutral nation and trampled on the rights of every nation; when she has attempted to annihilate every vestige of the public maritime code of which she professes to be the champion? Shall we bear the cuffs and scoffs of British arrogance because we may entertain chimerical fears of French subjugation? . . . We cannot secure our independence of one power by a dastardly submission to the will of another. . . . When did submission to one wrong induce an adversary to cease his encroachments on the party submitting? But we are told that we ought only to go to war when our territory is invaded. How much better than invasion is the blocking of our very ports and harbors, insulting our towns, plundering our merchants, and scouring our coasts? If our fields are surrendered, are they in a better condition than if invaded? When the murderer is at our doors, shall we meanly skulk to our cells, or shall we boldly oppose him at the entrance?"

The English financial reports, commenting on the condition of the British Empire after six months of the war, reached New York about February 4, 1915. They fully corroborate the claim of the writer that the United States is really

the chief industrial sufferer of all the great nations. Our people have been strung along and out-manœuvred by the clever wiles of English diplomacy. The salve of flattery extended from the hands across the sea will not heal the business bruises dealt to Brother Jonathan by the clever financiers of Lombard Street. While the bread line lengthens in America, the unemployed are decreasing throughout England. The Cunard, White Star, Red Star, Anchor and other English steamship lines, headed by the dominating English interests in Wall Street, have intrigued so well at Washington that all parties are playing into their hands and no relief is to be afforded American shipping. More frightful will be the peril to the United States if the submarine campaign launched by the Germans against merchant ships flying the British flag should continue as successful as it has begun. Nearly all of our commerce to Europe is carried in vessels flying the Union Jack, so helpless and unimportant are we on the ocean. Discerning Americans perceive that England, not Germany, has brought about this destruction of American shipping. We are not deceived by the figures showing increased exports. Our working men in urban centres know

that wheat mounting up to $2 per bushel pads the export trade more than wheat at ninety cents per bushel, and corn, oats, barley and other farm products likewise. They realize the loaf of bread is six cents instead of five cents, and that means an extra tax of $16,000,000 on the breadeaters of New York City alone. The export of war-priced ammunition, wagons, horses, etc., etc., is no proof of a return to prosperity. The writer within a week has seen no sign of diminishment in the great armies of idle men surrounding American factories.

Many American cotton mills are idle and many more are working on part time. The spinners and other cotton operatives' unions report more idle men and women than at any period since the year 1893. The cotton trade in England is booming. The Lancashire mills, with low-priced American cotton, are running day and night. British consols are selling as well and at as high a figure as before the war. Great Western Railway shares of England, selling before the war at 114, are selling at 115; the same is noticed in the standard English railway shares. All of the English boats are rolling up enormous profits, while our Senators fight over personal, political

and extraneous questions, and cannot agree on any shipping policy. While Nero was fiddling, Rome was burning. Iron and steel in the United States is too cheap to be made at a profit and sold abroad on account of the freight rates being tripled by English ship owners. Whereas, the iron and steel trade of the English makers is flourishing. The United States Steel Company has cut out the dividend on its common stock, affecting very many thousands of investors, while the principal English steel mills declared dividends last month. The British manufacturer is attacking the Germans successfully in the former markets of the latter and organizing an effective foreign trade campaign because they have the ships. We have nothing but sympathy for the Allies and only relief ships for Belgium and few commercial ships to fly the Stars and Stripes on the seven oceans. The leading Anglo-American weekly is *Harper's Weekly,* and Great Britain has made times so "good" in America that *Harper's Weekly* is destitute of advertising. Despite six months of the war, the English coal exports only fell off 17,353,000, while ours fell off 31,000,000 tons. The American woollen manufacturing trade is depressed, while the English woollen business is

steadily improving. In six months the American woollen trade is reduced 24 per cent.; in England, less than 18 per cent. In 1913 Great Britain exported 97,593,400 yards of linen to the United States, and increased the amount to 107,550,300 yards in 1914, despite the war. A fair evidence of the prosperity of the English people rests in the figures showing a gain per capita in the amount of tea, coffee and sugar consumed. The imports and exports of silk by England have increased over 1913 and the year 1912. With Germany and France, in spite of the war, having found means to properly provide for the unemployed, with England doing up America in the trade of Europe, Asia and Africa, the question is often asked by the students of history, After fifty years of unexampled prosperity, have American business men grown stale and become enervated by past successes? Are they wanting in the initiative, daring, resource and alertness of their fathers, who built a merchant marine that coped with England successfully for half a century?

This is the 15th day of February, 1915. The bread line grows instead of receding, and the world is in the seventh month of the war. The price of bread throughout the City of New York has risen another cent per loaf. The pangs of

hunger have reached the iron and steel districts of Cleveland, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and other cities. Vast armies of the worried mechanics and laborers congregate about the shops and factories. Special patrols are established along the railway lines to keep men off the tracks, who, being penniless, are trying to steal free rides in the hope of getting work in the next town.

The writer has seen the bread line this month in some seven American cities. One does not have to visit Europe to see the human misery caused by the war.

Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment, reports on February 8, 1915, that there are 200,000 more unemployed in New York City than last Winter. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company canvass shows cases of unemployment in 35,000 out of 146,000 families whose members insured in that company.

The custom collectors for all the important ports in New York report officially to the Secretary of the Treasury that there is an enormous congestion of farm products and merchandise of all kinds in every port in the United States which cannot be transported to Europe for want of American ships.

CHAPTER IV

ALSACE

Most Americans have sympathized with France in the loss of her provinces, Alsace and Lorraine, as the result of the Franco-Prussian war of 1871. This sentiment is worthy, but is not founded on material grounds to-day, because the record shows that this detached territory is far more prosperous under German administration. In forty years the population of Alsace-Lorraine has nearly tripled, and produces a vast amount of grain, tobacco, iron and coal, and with an area of only 5,580 square miles, one-sixth the area of Ireland, is a veritable beehive of cotton, woollen, silks and chemical industries.

Contrast the state of Alsace-Lorraine with that of misgoverned Ireland, where the population is to-day only one-third of the number of people living in Ireland seventy years ago.

While English rule has been draining the life-blood of Ireland, leaving only the remnants of a people, this little territory along the banks of the Rhine has gone forward by leaps and bounds,

with the people so contented that sentiment altogether throughout the province has steadily changed in favor of Germany, and the Alsatians have furnished their full quota of soldiers for the Fatherland. Ireland, too, has iron and coal, and could manufacture cotton, wool and silks, but it is not for the commercial interest of England to have an industrial Ireland. She must always be confined under the British Empire to remain an agricultural spot, a rear garden to supply food for England.

The district of Alsace-Lorraine contains the same percentage of Roman Catholics as Ireland, about 76 per cent. The beautiful Rhine flows all along its borders, filled with vessels carrying commerce of the province to the world. The River Shannon of Ireland is as grand and as beautiful, but you may go along its shores for days and never see a sail. The land along the Shannon is as rich and fertile as the lands on the banks of the Rhine. The harbors of the German river are no safer or deeper. For every $128 owned by an Irishman, the Alsatian possesses $915. The farmer of these annexed German provinces can sell the products of his farm to any country of the world on the same basis as

any other province or colony of the German Empire. The Irish farmer must market his cattle and farm products through English ports alone. If he has cows or sheep to sell on the Continent he must first ship them to England, divide the profit with the middleman there, and take what is left. It was this infamous method of trade suppression that led to the successful revolution of the American colonists, who rebelled against laws which required American farmers to ship their products through English market channels.

Germany removed from the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine unjust, artificial checks, and protected, rather than discouraged, the industries of her new provinces, which has steadily weakened the old attachment for France. The provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, with little more than one-half the population of Ireland, has sent 104,000 troops to the front in France for Germany, whereas, up to the 10th of October, scarcely 10,000 recruits had been secured in all of Ireland.

In Ireland the people are not let know the extent of the German victories on land and sea, lest the knowledge would interfere with the extraordinary methods of securing recruits for the British armies. The Home Rule Bill, signed by

King George, to be amended by Ulster and to go into effect after the war, is the recruiting bait. Economic pressure will never permit Ireland to become a near commercial competitor of England. The latter with its 38,000,000 of people congested on a small island, cannot afford to have Ireland manufacture the same line of goods. She must be confined to the products of the soil, to linens, and food products. Hence, a Home Rule measure which expressly prohibits Ireland from foreign commerce save through the British Parliament.

The Parliamentary Party is called Nationalist —a misnomer. 'Tis a far cry, hearkened back a century, from Mr. Redmond's purely local measure, installing his followers in the offices expected through the execution of the bill, to the dying request of Robert Emmet forbidding his countrymen to write his epitaph until Ireland should become a free nation.

Who knows in the fulness of time but that Germany and destiny will write Emmet's epitaph!

As for the descendants of the Celts, if the issue is, according to Mr. Joseph H. Choate, the "intense hatred of Germany for England and her

lofty ambition to establish a world empire upon the ruins of the British Empire, their answer is: "The British Empire ruined Ireland—she can fare no worse and, with the friendship of Germany, her lot may be bettered."

CHAPTER V

GERMANS IN THE UNITED STATES

EUROPE, *not* England, is the Mother Country of America. Of the white men and women within the borders of the United States, we should be safe in asserting that at least twenty per cent. are of German stock. To call such a people Huns, vandals and barbarians should be considered ridiculous in this country. They form one of the best elements in our vast heterogeneous and cosmopolitan population. The Germans make first-class American citizens; they are patriotic, literate and industrious; thrifty, sensible and modest. Many Americans marvel at the patience of these worthy people, under the calumnies hurled by thousands of vilifiers at the land of their fathers and mothers.

From the dawn of American independence the German emigrants have been the friends of American freedom. They fought bravely and loyally on many American battlefields and they have given this country the greatest help in furnishing steadiness and stability of character.

It was Johann DeKalb, of Huttendorf, Bavaria, who accompanied Lafayette to the side of George Washington in 1777. He served as major general of the Continental armies in New Jersey and Maryland until April, 1780. He lost his life in the battle of Camden in August, 1780. The writer remembers, near his boyhood home, the town Steuben, where the illustrious patriot, Friedrich Wilhelm Steuben, died in 1794. Second only to the immortal Washington, this gallant German soldier held up the courage of the starving patriots in the dark winter nights of Valley Forge. He gave up his own food to the privates. Washington acknowledged that to Steuben's, more than any other influence, was due the superb discipline and organization of the patriotic rebel army. It was he who received the first offer of capitulation from Lord Cornwallis, the British commander-in-chief.

In the Civil War the Germans dyed the fields of the South with their blood. The Union could not have been saved without them. In April, 1861, as the gallant Irish 69th New York Regiment was marching down Broadway, their band playing "Garry Owen" and "The Star Spangled Banner," on their way to join the Army of the

Potomac, three German regiments from Cincinnati, Wisconsin and St. Louis were on their way to meet them. Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, the noted bandmaster, used to tell of the German military bands playing Irish airs on St. Patrick's Day along the banks of the Potomac.

General Carl Schurz distinguished himself at the battle of Manassas and in the campaign in Tennessee. He became U. S. senator from Missouri, and as a statesman, writer and patriot he ranks as one of the foremost Americans. The German veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic recall the glories of the blond-haired German boys "who fought mit Sigel" in the Civil War. Franz Sigel was a son of Baden, who organized the first German regiment in New York. He was a hero of Carthage and Pea Ridge and he went down to enduring fame when, with 4,000 men, he held Maryland Heights against General Early and 15,000 men in 1864.

The first German immigrants settled in Pennsylvania, and their agricultural settlements were such that they were visited and studied by our Eastern colonist agriculturalists. The Thirty Years' War, extending over the soil of disunited and dismembered states, had wrought ruin and

destruction on homes and people when the German, Furly, obtained a grant of land in Eastern Pennsylvania and gathered his emigrants from along the banks of the Rhine. They landed at Germantown (which is now part of the city of Philadelphia) in 1683. These Germans were the first of our foreigners to organize against slavery. Then others came to New Jersey and New York, founding towns with such typical German names as Saugerties, Rhinebeck, German Flats, Mannheim and Palatine, N. Y. They settled Berks County, Pennsylvania, then Montgomery and Lancaster Counties, then they trekked on to Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina in 1732.

They reached Georgia from Salzburg in 1734, followed by the Wurtembergers. When the War of 1812 broke out the German young men joined the army of Andrew Jackson and did their share in driving the British out of this country. From the year 1841 to 1900—sixty years—there have been added to our population not less than 5,000,000 Germans. The marvellous prosperity of Germany under the reign of the present Emperor has checked emigration, so that few of these worthy and welcome emigrants have been

coming to our shores in recent years. Men and women of German extraction dominate in numbers the cities of Cincinnati and Milwaukee and are powerful elements in Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Cleveland and Baltimore. In New York City they form about twenty per cent. of the population. In religion there are about as many Catholic as Protestant German-Americans.

The German character has been an important element in the upbuilding of the United States. They are our largest savings bank depositors and home builders; their instrumental music and their singing societies have brought many happy hours to American hearts and homes. Their love of children have made them the toymakers of the world. The Nuremberg toymaker was freezing in the trenches last Christmas eve and many an American child felt the effect of his absence.

America has reason to be thankful for the advent of German people to her shores and for the long and constant friendship of the German Empire. Our country has had two wars with England and has been on the verge of two more—in 1861 and in 1893. We have been at war with

Spain, with Tripoli and with Mexico, and we have been nearly at war with France. With Germany we have not had the slightest misunderstanding, and her government and people have always been our good friends. We have broken our treaty with Russia because American Jewish citizens cannot cross her territory. No greater calamity could befall modern civilization than the dismemberment of Germany with the aid of medieval and intolerant Russia. More power, say we all, to the strong arm of the gallant and resolute von Hindenburg in the East, who so far has resisted Russian invasion of Germany.

No country, excepting the United States, perhaps, has, in the past forty years, made such advances in economic production as Germany. Americans owe this wonderful people a great debt for the instruction the Germans have given them in chemistry, medicine, surgery, electricity, in waterpower development, inventions and various discoveries and improvements in art and science. The Germans taught our farmers how to avoid waste and how to increase crops. Their municipal governments are the models from which our progressive city officials draw their most valuable lessons. Germany was the suc-

cessful pioneer in workmen's compensation laws, which were first copied in this country by Wisconsin, where the Germans are so numerous and influential. Insurance against accident, disease, death and old age is thirty years old in the Fatherland. The German success, against great natural obstacles, is due to a wonderful spirit of co-operative effort, organization, thoroughness and solidarity.

We know the traits of the Germans in America. A people who can hymn for the Fatherland on the battlefield, who love their homes and who are kindly and hospitable, their enemies will never convince us in the United States that they could become aggressors against the peace and civilization of the world. The Germans in America are the same in heart, in character and in feeling as the people of the Fatherland. They could not be disloyal if they tried.

No less an American authority than the late United States Senator John Sherman of Ohio, when Secretary of the Treasury, said that the whole of Germany, including the government, was the friend of the Union in the Civil War. Prussia loaned a large amount of money to the United States when our country was hard pressed.

CHAPTER VI

WHY ENGLAND WILL NEVER GRANT FREEDOM TO IRELAND

"Every attempt to govern Ireland has been from an English standpoint, and as if for the benefit of Englishmen alone."—Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.

England will always remain the sole enemy of Ireland. Economic and industrial pressure make her the natural and logical destroyer of Irish industry and commerce. If I were an English manufacturer or trader I, too, would help to crush any movement to make Ireland free. We would not want a rival in our own line at our shoulder, cutting down our profits and interfering with our commercial success. Self-preservation is the first law of nations as well as individuals. England has fixed the limits in the shape of an Irish truck garden which will furnish food for the English green hills of Inishowen, overlooking the wonderful harbor of Lough Swilly, County Donegal, deserted then, but at present holding the great British fleet. Twenty miles from this spot the super-

ROBERT EMMET

"When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then, and not till then, let my epitaph be written."

dreadnaught *Audacious* sank to the bottom of the sea at the hands of a deadly torpedo launched by a German submarine.* Nowhere in the world are there so many great natural harbors as on the west coast of Ireland—Donegal Bay, Sligo, Killala, Clew, Galway Bays, the mouth of the Shannon, and Dingle Bay could hold the fleets of the world.

Ireland contains 33,000 square miles, England 58,000. Ireland is more fertile than either England or Scotland. The population of England is close to 35,000,000; Ireland is stripped down to 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and ought to be able to support in comfort 15,000,000 of people. The island contains coal, iron, marble, copper and various resources not possible of development because of English control and opposition. Her industries are confined to a small section of the Northeast, held in hand by the descendants of invaders, fortified originally by conquest, and rarely do you find a pure native holding any important business station in any of the thirty-two counties of the island. The prevailing fashion is to class the natives as lazy and incompetent without scru-

*Although three months have passed since the *Audacious* was sunk, no Irish newspaper has published the news.

tinizing the historic and economic reasons which have brought them to their present plight and left them at the mercy of the conquerors. Few of her critics take into account the repressive commercial codes of centuries, lifted too late, in part, to restore industry. The English Parliament enacted laws which ruined the once prosperous manufacturing industries of the country. As soon as Ireland developed an important direct export trade, England crushed the life out of it by export tariffs, hostile duties aimed at Irish exports solely. At one time Irish woollens were the first in Europe. The output of her looms found their way to all the cities of the continent. The cloth makers of England successfully petitioned the Parliament to place an arbitrary, preferential export duty on Irish woollens, which annihilated the industry. That trade never recovered from the blow. England gave bounties to manufactures in various lines, subsidies to ships, but none went to Ireland. After bankrupting Ireland, she removed these restrictions in the midst of the Continental war, exactly as she promises Home Rule now, as an emergency measure to superinduce recruiting for the British army. The Irish Volunteers of a hundred years, or more, ago were or-

ganized as the result of the suppression of Irish trade. They forced the government to supply them arms in the same maner as the Irish Volunteers of to-day. The great wars on the continent frightened England into granting an Irish Parliament in 1782, which was taken away from Ireland twenty years later. Pensioners of the government and traitors destroyed the national cause then as they are trying to do to-day. That brief period of a free country was the one bright epoch of modern Irish history. The factories were occupied and increasing in numbers and output, the harbors were filled with ships, and immigration exceeded emigration. Irish independence and growing commerce aroused fearful jealousies on the part of her more powerful neighbor, who proceeded to crush Ireland again by acts of repression. This led to rebellion and bloodshed and the execution of Robert Emmet, followed by the destruction of Irish industries. Then came seventy years of horror, broken only by the gurgling cries of a strangled people. Young Ireland rose in 1848, led by a dozen educated young men, but the effort was futile. Famine had done to death a million people the year before, another million fled to foreign

shores, the life blood of the nation was exhausted, but her children, scattered to the four corners of the earth, preserved good memories.

One afternoon I was in a small boat on Sligo Bay, a place visited by few tourists. Scarcely a sail was visible in the great harbor provided by nature, neglected by man. We were rowed up the Garvogue River by a very old man to Lough Gill. No lake or mountain scenery in Switzerland or Colorado is more beautiful. And yet no boat nor hotel nor sign of habitation on that lake or near it. Six miles distant was the dying city of Sligo with 10,000 inhabitants, old and poor, the remnants of a stricken race. Sligo has nothing to show at the end of 900 years but the melancholy ruins of a once flourishing town, her aged men and women and their rags. Long since the most of the stalwart youth departed for foreign shores. In the long twilight we saw the Irish Volunteers drilling on the green turf, grim and silent. They speak low in Sligo, almost like a whisper, the faces seem to have recorded in them the lines of the woes of centuries, and in the silence of the day they eye the great harbor, unflecked by the white sails of their childhood; and they seem to look across the seas to their chil-

dren in America. There was a day when the cattle ships for the Continent stopped at Sligo. When the cattle is sold now it must be first shipped on a small steamer to Glasgow or Liverpool. The English middleman must have his profit. Iron is abundant in Sligo, but no captains of industry are there to mine it. An Irish-American dredging contractor who stood near said that with men and money he could make that harbor one of the world's best located shipping ports.

As a race the Irish do not excel in finance, in bartering or in trading, although it must be said that in the last three decades they have shown considerable advancement in those lines of commercial effort. But in huge constructive projects they are foremost. As railroad and tunnel builders, penetrating mountains, damming rivers, sea dredging, building skyscrapers, harnessing the forces of nature, the sons of the Irish bog and ditch diggers, the children of the emigrant laborers, are the great engineering contractors of the world. They are daring and fearless, no physical difficulty seems to awe them and they tackle the most dangerous operations which involve the loss of life and money underground. In a syndicate of fifteen men, who offered the United States Gov-

ernment to build the Panama Canal, thirteen bore Irish names. These are the practical men of affairs, badly needed in Ireland, who could lead the way for the industrial development of the country if her English fetters were removed.

That her sons can succeed in keen commercial struggle is admitted throughout the world. The only two Irish parliamentary leaders known to the present generation are the late Charles Stewart Parnell and the present Mr. Redmond. Both men are of the land-owning class and view Ireland from an agrarian rather than an industrial point of view. The Land Act has proved a great blessing to agricultural Ireland. It was passed by the Tory party. Parnell was a revolutionary and a Protestant, although a practical statesman. He led successfully the Land League movement, founded and organized by Michael Davitt. I first met him in America as a boy thirty years ago. He looked more like a college professor than an Irish agitator and he hated the English Government of all parties thoroughly and whole heartedly, and never disguised his hate. Redmond was supposed to be one of his disciples, and we heard Redmond say in Buffalo one night, "I would tear with my own hands into shreds the

British Act of Union with Ireland." He got $14,000 from the audience that evening. Poor Parnell lies in his grave, under a green sward, in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin. No monument is there, but a fine one commemorates his memory in Parnell Square, Dublin; and one bright May day I saw some men and women placing great wreaths of flowers on that silent grave. One was marked, "Done to Death. From the workingmen of the Midland Railroad"; another read, "From the women linen workers of Antrim," and another, "Sacred to the memory of our chief. From the lace workers of Kerry." The effort to side-track Nationalist Ireland, if the dead could speak, would make the voice from the tomb protest as Redmond appeals to the peasants to die for England.

As a land owner, John Redmond, according to Irish reports, was one of the first to rush in and sell his estate to the tenants under the Wyndham land purchase act. He put the top figure on his land and secured the maximum figure from the land board, according to reports. Immediately the other landlords said, "Redmond is your leader, naturally he has vast influence with the land board; we will take the same rate per acre as Redmond." Good judges in Ireland say that this ex-

hibition of greed on the part of Redmond cost the tenants at least $9,000,000 in excess land prices.

Parnell never cared for money and died poor. His motto on the land question was, "Keep a firm grip on your homesteads." Redmond was finally made leader because he was a lieutenant of Parnell. His London social environment has caused him to forget the dying warning of Parnell, "Ireland, never trust England!"

Mr. Redmond consented to leave out of "Nationalist Ireland" six counties, including the ancient see of Armagh. This concession to the Orange Tories deeply shocked the real Nationalists. Saint Patrick founded Christianity in Ireland and built the first church at Armagh, in the year 445. The present cathedral, the see of St. Patrick, is the grandest church in Ireland, presided over by Cardinal Logue. I happened to be within its walls one day in August last when the bells tolling overhead announced the death of His Holiness Pope Pius the Tenth. The Primate of all Ireland is marooned or sequestered under the amending act, as agreed to by Redmond, to get along as best he may or be thrown to the Orange wolves of Antrim (Belfast). A friend from Armagh writes that Redmond has been able to

secure only six Nationalist recruits in the town.

No country can hope to be permanently prosperous which is nearly or altogether dependent on farming. There must be manufacture and commerce to furnish life blood for a nation. How much would the marvellous efficiency of Germany count for to-day in the world if she relied alone on intensive farming. England, having the ear of the world, pleads she went to war to save the small state of Belgium. Part of the world forgets she destroyed the last surviving republics in Africa, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, because of her greed for the diamond mines and the gold of Kimberly and Johannesburg. In the analysis of the Home Rule Bill I show that Ireland by its terms is effectually stopped from developing foreign trade, and is subjected to increased taxation from the burden of an office-holding brigade without being able to increase her resources from the profits of manufacture and commerce.

CHAPTER VII

WHAT GERMANY COULD DO FOR IRELAND

IRELAND, as a free and independent nation, with Germany as her friend and ally, could be made into an important industrial country. There is no hope for an industrial Ireland under English domination. The island, first of all, must have capital to develop railways, mines, waterpower and harbors to insure commerce. And that essential element English bankers will not supply; so long as Ireland is a West British agrarian colony no other country will furnish money for her development; and her own people are too poor to do it. The critics of Germany, since the war, ridicule the constant, pathetic, plea of German *kultur*. They do not realize that word has a different meaning from "culture" in England or the United States. The German uses that word to define the social organization and its ramifications, the efficiency, unity, solidarity and thoroughness of an organized people. The writer attended two German schools in Syracuse when a boy and was trained first to think in the German

way. The writer well remembers the first and last thought of the German professor was to teach the child his lesson well and thoroughly. Your true German scholar is the most scientific of men, because he has mastered the difficult art of being thorough.

England, eternally jealous and hateful of Ireland, has never given her people any chance for scientific development. The door of hope is closed in this age of specialization to the sons of Ireland. In no sense could Ireland become an economic or commercial rival of Germany. Her geographical position, the character of her soil, her language, and the difference in her basic productions, would prevent her from becoming a trade rival of Germany.* The latter country would always want a friendly nation, just to the

*The Irish railways are owned by the same capitalists who own the English railways and are interested in English manufactures. Economic necessity requires that the Irish railways must always be kept secondary to the English lines and so handled as to transport farm products. They are rarely extended so that factories or minerals might be developed in Ireland. The concerted policy of England is to destroy Irish trans-Atlantic passenger ports in the same way they have destroyed Irish freighting direct to countries other than England. All of the large Cunard liners skip Queenstown, and the last large ship to drop the old port, from whence millions came to this country, was the White Star liner *Olympic*. In the year 1912 the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution calling on the directors of the Cunard Steamship Company to cut out landing or stopping in Ireland.

left of England, who could always be counted on as a friend in time of need. England only buys from Germany what she has to in manufactures and things chemical. She must first protect her colonies, who reciprocate with tariff preferences and trade agreements. Ireland, having no colonies, would be able to trade on a large scale with Germany and the Continent. In many parts of the world, prior to the declarations of war, the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd steamship companies had taken away from English companies a vast amount of trade. On the shores of a friendly Ireland, the nearest of the British isles to the United States in distance, on the west coast, are wonderfully situated bays, where the harbors and docks could be so improved that the largest steamers would dock.

England and France held Belgium, Japan and Portugal with them as allies by financing the government and the industries of those countries. There is a vast amount of English money invested in Belgian industrial properties. Under England an Irish bond or consol would not be worth the paper on which it was written. But, Ireland free, and a friend of Germany, could borrow funds from the latter to develop her great waterpower,

her commerce and industries. Looking ahead, Germany would plainly see that she would insure her future in the Atlantic Ocean and weaken England in the struggle for the world's trade by strengthening Ireland, who would also have the aid of the vast and prosperous German and Irish population in the United States.

There is no other country in the Old World which could teach Ireland the things she needs the most in material development. The economic progress of Germany in the last twenty-five years is the period of the greatest development of any people. Ireland, excepting for brief periods of industrial and national freedom, has been struggling for centuries for her economic development in various forms, and in the year 1915 is the poorest country on the continent. Germany, in the short space of twenty-five years, has become a rival of the British Empire in every country in the world. Dr. Karl Helfferich, director of the Deutsche Bank, in the view of the writer, has best expressed the German idea of *kultur* in the fewest words.

The power that creates and increases the wealth of a people is labor,—from the purely manual labor of

the wage-earner to the purely intellectual labor of the scholar.

The vehicle of labor is man, or—as regards the whole state—the population.

The result of labor is the production of goods.

The productivity of labor is intensified by perfecting technical equipment and organization.

For the people as a whole the increased efficiency of labor finds expression in the statistics of production, trade, and transportation.

The final purpose of economic labor is consumption.

The surplus of goods produced over and above the necessary expense of production constitutes the income of the people.

The surplus of the income of the people over their consumption constitutes the increment of the public well-being.

The ideal economic development is that a growing population be able to increase the net efficiency of its labor, and thereby its "income," to such a degree that, at the same time, a higher standard of life—in other words, a more plentiful satisfaction of material and intellectual wants—and an enhancement of the public wealth be attained.

Twenty-five years is a very short period in the life of a nation. Germany contained 48,000,000 people in the year 1888, at the opening of the present war her population rose to 67,000,000. Her excess of births over deaths is 800,000 per

annum and she must find room and livelihood for her surplus population.

The excess of births over deaths in Germany to every 1,000 inhabitants is 11 per cent., as compared with 9 per cent. in England, 9 per cent. in America and no excess in sterile France. To meet this rapidly growing population, Germany has been forced to find new means of remunerative employment. Her land is very old, she has been compelled to study scientific and intensive farming, and to acquire and make every known mechanism to draw food from the ground.

More wonderful is her development in science and in applying scientific knowledge to labor. She leads the world in chemistry and physics and, perhaps, in electricity, her only real competitor being the United States. No country in the world has approached her in substituting skilled labor for common labor. This great change has been effected by machinery. She is foremost in the world's development of waterpower. Germany is ahead of all other countries in the use of gas engines. Her motors are the world's models. Liebig, a German chemist, worked out the theory of fertilizing soil which has proven the salvation of our older Southern States. In

dyes, tars, acids, use of by-products, use of carbons, processes of making iron and steel, aluminum, treatment of wood, preservatives, saving wastes, the whole world kneels at the feet of Germany; and, in a great degree, the ability of England, through her warships, has shut off these indispensable exports, thus increasing the human misery and, in some places, the starvation which prevails in the United States at present.

The trade schools of Germany have been copied in all lands. In co-operative employment of workingmen, in old age pensions, in workingmen's compensation acts, in employers' liability acts Germany has long led the world. All of the various employers' compensation measures in American commonwealths have been founded on German laws and experience. Her workingmen have $3,000,000,000 in savings banks and her working class supports the huge war loans. Aside from her savings banks, the co-operative savings societies of Germany hold $6,000,000,000. One out of every four Germans, male or female, is a wage-earner. In sanitation, in public hygiene, in housing the people, she is first; whereas, England has more paupers than any country on the Continent, more people living in a

single room than any country in Europe or America.

Thirty years ago Germany had 268,000 threshing machines, to-day she has more than 1,000,000; in 1882 only 19,000 mowing machines, to-day 301,000; she led the world in the last few years in her harvest yields per acre.

The discovery that beets could be used to make sugar has cheapened and revolutionized the production of sugar; this very important discovery was made in Germany, which is first in beet-sugar production. By the year 1912 Germany had overtaken England in the production of coal and was second only to the United States. She is exceeded alone by our country in the production of iron. In thirty years her post-office receipts have jumped from $95,000,000 up to $394,000,000. The Reichsbank does a business of $85,000,000, the Deutsche Bank of $30,000,000 per annum. Her railway employees doubled in twenty-five years. The only country in the world to come anywhere near equalling her in railway development in twenty-five years is the United States. Her inland waterways have reached the vast sum of 7,000,000 tons carrying capacity. In thirty short years she has actually *tripled* her

exports and incomes. Her nearest competitor has been the United States. Yet in thirty years, whereas the imports of the United States have increased 137 per cent., the imports of Germany gained 244 per cent.; whereas, the exports of the United States gained 208 per cent. and Great Britain 119 per cent., Germany increased her exports 185 per cent.

In spite of a restricted and limited seacoast, Germany has become the second maritime power on the globe. Her banking system is the most elastic and perfect in the world and, considering that the war utterly destroyed her foreign commerce, the fact that there have been no large failures, no business panics or widespread unemployment and that all of the American correspondents agree in the statement that the German people, despite the cataclysm, feel least the shock of any of the belligerents, we may well conclude that a New Ireland could learn its most useful lessons of progress from the culture and firm friendship of the Fatherland.

A few days ago a distinguished United States Senator, in the Senate, debating the Immigration Bill, said:

Germany has been developed to such a degree of

prosperity, during forty-four years of the German Empire, as to be able to utterly change her labor conditions. In the year 1871 two-thirds of all German labor was common, the poorest paid labor. To-day two-thirds of all the labor in Germany is skilled labor, thrice the wages of common labor, and only one-third is common labor. The productiveness of Germany has been enormously increased, and that has been possible, in part, by reason of the fact that Germany has developed skilled labor and intellect to a degree not equalled by any country in the world.

That statement remains uncontroverted, and is proven by the facts and figures of the world's production and commerce.

The "Home Rule Bill for Ireland" does two things, and two only. One is to fix her for all time as an agrarian country, with no labor but the poorest paid labor in the world, agricultural labor. The first is economic, the second is political; the last gives Ireland more secure control over purely local and internal legislation and produces 1,400 new political jobs for her various politicians.*

England has done everything in its power to make war inevitable.—*George Bernard Shaw.*

*England sells to Ireland nearly $300,000,000 per year in manufactures, which Ireland must pay back in farm products. The chief exports of Ireland are her children, her live animals, and her food, the three commodities needed most by the country. She sends her *best* cattle, hams, bacon and poultry to England, and her healthy ambitious boys and girls are sent abroad.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW ENGLAND DESTROYED IRISH INDUSTRIES

THE Irish railways are not only inferior to American lines, but they are the poorest, the slowest and the costliest in Europe. There are three or four fairly good express trains, but in the main the service is poor and would not be tolerated in the New World. Suffering for want of industry, railroading or steam shipping does not pay in Ireland, hence transportation is handicapped. Nowhere in a modern country is electricity so far behind the times. There are numerous waterfalls and much natural water power, but that art of harnessing the forces of nature is practically unknown in Ireland.

Robert Kane, in his "Industrial Resources of Ireland," says that the island contains great deposits of valuable iron ore. England, as a competitor, prevented their development. All capital, in large sums in Ireland, must be obtained from London, and no loans are made by which the mineral resources of the island could be used.

Up to the year 1651 iron was exported to Eng-

land by Ireland, but prohibited from England by law as soon as English iron mines were interfered with by Irish competition. The same fate met Irish coal on the petition of the Wales coal-mine owners. As timber is necessary in shoring mines, all the timber near the mineral deposits was hewn and shipped abroad. There are 70,000 acres of good quality of coal lands which have not been opened. Griffith, geologist, says solid, workable coal is found to the depth of 120 fathoms. As late as 1846 about 26,000 tons of copper was produced. The clay in Ireland is extensive in quality and deposits. The silk* and cordage industry flourished in the eighteenth century, but was killed off by arbitrary tariffs designed to destroy manufacture.

In 1640 the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Governor) wrote thus to his King:

> I am of opinion that all wisdom advises to keep Ireland dependent on England as long as is possible, and estopped from the manufacture of wool.

Nottingham said the object of English rule in

*Anthony N. Brady, of New York, who died recently and left the colossal sum of more than $100,000,000, was born in France, due to the fact that his father was an Irish silk weaver driven out of Ireland and who secured employment at his trade in Lyons, France.

Ireland is "to cramp, obstruct and render abortive the industry of the Irish." The Poyning Act compelled all vessels loaded in an Irish port to proceed to an English port, thus destroying the Irish merchant marine. Various navigation acts prevented Irish vessels from having direct Continental trade. Cattle could be killed in Ireland, but the carcass must be sent to England. Acts of Parliament destroyed a once great wool industry by requiring the sheep to be sent to England, and the price of wool to be fixed in London.

Barlow's "Ireland" says:

Deprived of the means of subsistence at home, thousands of Irish manufacturers emigrated to France and other countries, where they assisted the inhabitants in the augmentation and improvement of the quality of woollen goods. Another arbitrary measure excluded Ireland from trading with any British colony. Irish fishermen were prohibited from sending their boats off to the banks of Newfoundland.

Adam Smith, the political economist, said:

To prohibit a great nation from making all that they can of their own produce or industry is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind.

In 1867 Lord Dufferin wrote:

From the reign of Queen Elizabeth, England never

for a moment relaxed her relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one her industries were strangled until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed.

Last fall the writer attended in Dublin a so-called National Exhibition of Irish Industries. The real Irish showing was pitiful—scarcely a single article of industry shown, aside from agriculture, raw material or minerals, was made in Ireland. All wares bore English or Continental trade-marks.

And yet during the brief period of Irish independence, from 1782 to 1802, the commerce and industry of Ireland prospered. In 1798 the Earl of Clare said proudly, "There is not a nation on the face of the globe which has advanced in manufactures with the same rapidity." Her silks, cottons, fabrics, hats, soap, flannels, leather and other industries rose by leaps and bounds, amazing the industrial world, until the relentless antagonism of England was aroused, and the conqueror again set at the fell work of destroying her competing neighbor.

CHAPTER IX

IRELAND'S COMMERCE

"Every Irishman owes it to his country, his race, and the world to work for the break-up of the British World Dominion. Either the Empire or Ireland must die. Until the Irish the world over get it into their heads that Ireland is NOW, *as during the past 750 years, fighting for her very life against an unscrupulous and implacable enemy the cause of Ireland is hopeless."*—JOHN F. KELLY, PH.D.

IN INVESTIGATING an important or prosperous country one is confronted at once with a mass of valuable governmental data and a great variety of business works and reliable statistics. So few factories are there in most of Ireland, so little commerce, so few people directly interested in the subject, that, the government indifferent or negligent, with only exceeding difficulty do we secure late or reliable data. When you go into the great bookstores of America, which advertise "Irish books, great variety," you will rarely find a volume on an Irish commercial subject. There will be mostly fiction, written from the English,

the wrong point of view, descriptions of ruins and scenery, fairy tales, ballad poetry, drama and sketches of Irish life. In dealing with this chapter we have to do the best we can within narrow but certain limits of information.

The linen industry is the most important, and its survival was due originally chiefly to the superior quality of the flax sown on the fertile fields of Ireland. This industry is controlled by descendants of the invaders of the middle century, who drove the natives away from that section of the country into the bogs and mountains of the west. They have built up the important city of Belfast, which has become the largest town, containing, with its suburbs, some 500,000 inhabitants. The place is busy but gloomy, and contains only one beautiful building, the City Hall. As a "loyal city," in the year 1637 it won over Dublin the privilege of levying special duties on goods against the rest of Ireland, and that act of favoritism made it a seaport. It is naturally badly located as compared with a dozen harbors in Ireland, which have no commerce, but the ingenuity of man is employed to make up, in part, the natural deficiencies. Last year some 30,000 ships entered or cleared the harbor, carry-

ing 3,500,000 tons. All the rest of Ireland cleared about 20,000 ships and not more than 2,500,000 tons. The largest single industry is the great shipbuilding works of Messrs. Harland & Wolff, employing 12,000 workmen. I noticed the great new ship *Britannic,* over 50,000 tons, in the water last September. It will be too large to dock at Queenstown. As the large ships often skip Ireland, one can readily see how the commerce of the country is affected. Some of the docks in Belfast are nearly 900 feet long. Very little of the capital operating any of the great industries is Nationalist, which section is discriminated against in promotions and in the skilled trades.

The Irish Sea fisheries are very valuable, but the profitable method of deep-sea fishing is to use steam trawlers, too costly a vessel for the native fisherman to buy, and the salmon industry is, therefore, neglected. Fifty years ago the Irish fisheries employed 56,000 men; now the number is not more than 24,000, and the business has passed over largely to Scotland and England. The Irish salmon sold last year was not more than $900,000, yet there is no finer salmon in the world. The coast abounds in herring and mackerel, but

lack of capital, organization, and the entrance of steam trawlers have caused its decline. In the year 1870 the cotton mills employed about 6,000 hands. The industry is nearly dead, scarcely 500 men being employed, the business having passed over to Lancashire.

The Irish woollen industry within a century was larger than the linen industries, and its disappearance virtually sounded the death-knell of Irish manufacturing hopes, when 1,200 of her weavers emigrated to Philadelphia in 1870. The English manufacturers of woollens, alarmed by the popularity of Irish woollens throughout the continent, prevailed on Parliament, as I have stated before, to pass an act *prohibiting* Ireland from sending woollens abroad (see Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. IX, Ireland). The brewing and distilling business is the second largest industry and its preservation is due to the unique quality of fresh water. It is the chief industry of Dublin. The laces and embroideries are largely manufactured in private homes by cottage women.

The exports from Ireland direct to foreign ports is reduced to some $6,500,000 (1910), while the imports were some $54,000,000. With such a balance of trade against her, Ireland must con-

tinue to suffer until she has manufactures to send abroad and bring back money.

Mr. John F. Kelly, Ph.D., of Pittsfield, Mass., is furnishing a series of able letters for the *Irish World* on the subject of Irish industrial decline. Mr. Kelly has sent the writer a copy of a pamphlet entitled "A Plea for the Industrial Regeneration of Ireland," by Dr. Robert Ambrose, member of Parliament. As this writer has made a close analysis of the industrial and commercial necessities and possibilities of Ireland, it is possible to use his data and argument.

The water power of Ireland, the greatest in Europe in area, and the cheapest power for factory purposes, is wholly undeveloped. The people burn peat from the bogs for fuel, for, although coal exists, it is not mined. By extracting the moisture from the peat, through a German process invented in 1897 (Stemmler), peat fuel could be used for manufacturing. Ireland contains iron, copper and coal. *What is it, then,* inquires Dr. Ambrose, *that keeps Ireland poor, and how can she give employment to her own children?* He answers the great question with singular felicity, and we cannot improve on his words:

"There are two conditions absolutely necessary

for the full development of the resources of any country. First, the fostering care of a native government elected by and responsible to the public opinion of that country. Second, free and unfettered opportunities to trade with whomsoever that country wishes. Any country that is wanting in either of those two conditions is bound to go to the wall. Ireland is wanting in both. She has neither the blessings of the fostering care of a native government nor the free and unfettered opportunities of trading with whomsoever she likes. Therefore Ireland has gone to the wall."

By what standard can you judge of the prosperity of a country?

1. By the standard of living.
2. By its commerce and carrying power.
3. By its export trade—
   (*a*) In manufactures.
   (*b*) In surplus produce.

These are fair tests of the prosperity of a country. In the standard of living the people of Ireland are below the average on the continent. The low cost of their maintenance or subsistence per diem proves indubitably the force of this statement. Ireland exports considerable foodstuffs,

although small per capita. All political economists agree that it is a bad sign when a country is compelled to export the most and the best of its food. For every dollar of exports, Ireland imports eight or ten dollars, for want of manufactures, and no advocate claims, in any way, that the proposed Home Rule Bill will materially develop the foreign trade or manufactures of Ireland. It means that the people must use an inferior quality of products, and give to the world their best hams, bacons, flax, lace, cattle and butter. They must deny themselves of their own finest products and must sell their best to provide the necessaries of life.

We spent nearly nine hours on the Irish railway, 170 miles, reaching Limerick from Sligo, a town of 40,000 inhabitants, the city being the centre of the vale, in the heart of one of the most fertile farming sections of the world, where it seemed as though every acre of green land could raise a wondrous crop, and yet here is a brief résumé of the facts and figures of Limerick commerce:

In 1852 the foreign tonnage at the port of Limerick amounted to 124,419 tons, and the British and coasting trade to 90,002 tons, making

a total of 214,421 tons. At the present time there is no government report of Limerick foreign tonnage, because it is reduced to nothing and not worth recording, and yet there is no finer city in Ireland, aside from Dublin and Belfast. In the year 1854 the customs collected at Limerick the sum of $815,000, and 101 ships registered from this port. Seventy years ago the foreign exports from Limerick amounted to $6,000,000. The city then had several foundries, leather factories, soap, hat, hardware, glove, comb, linen, cotton factories, two paper mills, salt works, lace mill and twenty flour mills. All these plants have practically vanished.

The port of Galway had a large tonnage at one time; nothing left to-day. In 1851 Galway contained fifty-four factories. As far back as 1835 the town was busy with cotton and muslin works, exports in that year amounting to $1,250,000. All these industries have been transferred to England.

Waterford is the place which sends Mr. Redmond to the British House of Commons. Decay set in long ago, and the industries are in ruins. The woollen mills are no more. At one period there existed a cotton mill, eleven miles from the

place, which employed 1,800 persons. The raw cotton spun exceeded 2,000,000 pounds per year. The mill made 6,000,000 yards of bleached calico prints a year. The product of the mill was sent to foreign countries, but first through an English port. A famous glass works was in operation from 1783 up to 1852. The five shipyards have been vacated. In the year 1813, Waterford exported to foreign lands goods in the large sum of $11,000,000. As late as the year 1835 the trade, exports and imports, amounted to $16,700,000. New Ross sent twenty-seven merchant ships from her port in 1851; not one is left. The foreign trade of Wexford footed up $4,000,000 in 1835. The yarn market and linen hall have been destroyed.

In 1852 the foreign trade of Sligo amounted to $2,000,000; of Coleraine, $850,000; of Tralee, $250,000. Skibbereen, an interesting town in the County Cork, visited recently by the writer, is without commerce or industry, as formerly. At one period industry was flourishing. The exports in 1835 amounted to $200,000.

CORK

Cork was a flourishing city as late as 1852. She had a foreign trade of 184,678 tons and a

coasting trade of 472,701 tons, consisting of a fleet of 409 vessels. Some 260 clerks were employed collecting the duties. The mills made woollens, canvas, sheetings, leather and shirts. One firm employed 1,000 hands making silk and lace. There were seven iron foundries, two brass mills, five shovel factories, and two ship yards. One of the first iron ships was built at Cork. In 1835 the trade in and out of the port footed up to $28,000,000.

In 1835 the exports from Youghal were estimated at $1,300,000. As late as the year 1851 this port had registered 574 vessels. There is scarcely anything remaining of this commerce. In the year 1852 Westport possessed a foreign trade of about 20,000 tons, and a domestic trade of 8,000 tons, and 46 vessels were employed; the customs amounted to $650,000. Ballina was another important port; its business is now quite dead.

In the year 1853 Newry had a trade of 178,000 tons. There were two spinning mills, costing $1,750,000. The ships of Newry sailed the Baltic, Mediterranean Sea, and were driven from the seas by a law which required them to reship and land at English ports. The exports in 1835

amounted to $4,200,000, the imports to $2,800,000. Dundalk in the year 1853 had a trade of 147,000 tons, with 28 regular ships, customs $192,000, cotton mills employing 2,000 hands. The goods of Dundalk were carried to St. Petersburg, Riga, Dantzic, Rotterdam, Oporto and German ports. Drogheda had a trade of 260,000 tons in 1852, and shipbuilding works, while thirty-five pilots worked out from that port. An iron foundry employed 300 men. The exports from Drogheda in the year 1835 amounted to $3,830,000 and the imports to $1,280,000.

DUBLIN

In the year 1852 the shipping trade of Dublin amounted to 1,591,118 tons, with 464 vessels, customs $4,670,000, and was the chief silk manufacturing city of Great Britain. There were 28 iron and 21 brass foundries, long since disappeared. There were 114 cut-glass works, 43 carriage factories, 21 paper mills, 18 hat factories and 168 various manufactures.

The writer has visited all of the cities of America and many foreign cities. Of the large towns seen, beyond a doubt the capital of Ireland is the poorest, the most squalid and miserable.

The only interesting things about Dublin are the ruins of its former greatness, the cemeteries, parks and decaying structures. The monuments to the dead are notable. There is scarcely a ripple on the Liffey aside from some boats from a brewery. Fifty years more will see Dublin altogether an English city. The cockney songs of the London music halls are the favorites, and the ballad poetry of Ireland is disappearing, the street crowds have come to resemble the poor of London, and the patriots are harried. Many of the young politicians, the door of industry long closed, are secretly or openly endeavoring to get on the payroll of Dublin Castle or in the civil service, and that clever Irish politician and organizer, Joseph Devlin, and his practical henchman, Nugent, have landed many of them there.

To sum up, under English misrule, the foreign trade of Ireland in sixty years has dwindled to a pitiful figure, so that to-day Ireland has practically no commerce. How horrible is the betrayal of a decimated, stricken people by job-seeking leaders, who would destroy the remnants in order that their oppressors might be delivered from the vengeance of Germany!

During this period the trade of England in-

creased to nearly 70,000,000 tons. The exports of little Holland last year, scarcely 1,000,000 more inhabitants than Ireland, amounted nearly to a billion dollars; stricken Belgium to $680,000,000.

As Ireland has little manufacturing outside of the northeast corner of the country, the various preferential tariff rates of the British colonies benefit England alone. As long as the control of factories and shipping lies in English hands, no treaty or preferential system of duties can hope to benefit Ireland. Her products are chiefly farm products, hams, bacon, eggs and poultry, which are shipped to England, a class of products which are not shipped abroad and exchanged for the products of British colonies favored by special tariff rates. The people of Ireland can only make arrangements as middle-men and ship their products outside of England by indirection, through Liverpool or other English channels.

In studying the commerce of Ireland and contrasting the returns of the year 1913 with Germany, we find that on an average the business done by the average four inhabitants of Germany is equal to the commercial results of thirty-nine Irishmen. In Holland, a small country, the

wealth per capita is six times as great as Ireland. The English profess to despise the Turks, yet the average son of the Ottoman Empire possesses more of the world's goods than the Celt. The Irish prosper in all countries save and excepting Ireland.

There is no chance for real Irish prosperity under English rule, unless the yoke of bondage is thrown off and the nation becomes free and independent and works out her destiny, with the aid of her successful sons and daughters throughout the world, and establishes a friendly alliance with a country which is not a natural or logical rival and is not interested in her exploitation.

Let not the patriots remain discouraged. The watch fires of liberty burn for centuries.

The nations have fallen and thou art still young,
Thy sun is just rising when others have set,
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning has hung,
The full moon of freedom shall beam on thee yet.

When the German gunners fired the shots which struck the tower of the Cathedral at Rheims, that act was denounced as an Atrocity, although the army signal scouts of the Allies occupied the tower.

When the American gunners made the "beautiful shot" which struck the unoccupied tower of the ancient church at Vera Cruz, Mexico, who in the United States cried out—Atrocity?

CHAPTER X

ENGLISH ATROCITIES IN IRELAND

A FEW days after the taking of Louvain, Belgium, by the German army, I met a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, on the road from Dublin to Belfast. He was a strong character and a great prelate, at the head of an important diocese. The only news of the alleged atrocities at Louvain the earnest bishop had taken from the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* and the Belfast *News-Letter*. The news turned out to be false, as we have learned from the American newspaper correspondents who visited the scene. In Ireland, of course, no correction of the horrible falsehoods about German barbarisms have been made, and many natives actually believe stories of atrocities long since exploded in this country. The German atrocity game in the United States died with the return in October of Irving S. Cobb, of the *Saturday Evening Post;* John T. McCutcheon, of the Chicago *Tribune;* James O'Donnell Bennett, and the denials of the Associated Press and United Press correspondents. But the good bishop of

Ireland swallowed the story, and, in righteous indignation, said he would publicly denounce the German Huns and Vandals on the morrow. Louvain is a spot of tender memories in the Irish heart, and the English newspaper tricksters well knew their advantage in the references to "outrages" at Louvain.

The writer was reminded of the fact that the existence of an Irish seminary at Louvain was merely another historic evidence of the days when the English conquerors, under Cromwell, offered a reward of $25 for the head of every priest and $25, the same rate, for the head of wolves.

The priests were hunted like wild beasts, and, in order to maintain a seminary, they were forced to flee to the shelter of Louvain. We asked the bishop if the worst charged at Louvain were true, could Belgium approach the horrors of Drogheda, Ireland, under the reign of Oliver Cromwell.

Matthew Carey, a reliable historian, writes:

> Of all the cases of murderous cruelty that marked the career of the government in Ireland, the most atrocious occurred at the surrender of Drogheda. The history of the Huns, Vandals, Goths and Ostragoths may be searched in vain for anything more shocking.

Cromwell had besieged this town for some time, and was finally admitted on promise of quarter. The garrison consisted of the flower of the Irish army, and might have beaten him back, had they not been seduced by his solemn promise of mercy, which was observed till the whole had laid down their arms. Then he commanded his soldiers to begin the slaughter of the entire garrison, which slaughter continued for five days with every circumstance of brutal and sanguinary violence that the most cruel savages could conceive or perpetrate.

Lest the above sentences may be considered some exaggeration, here follows an extract from the official report to London, signed by Oliver Cromwell:

It has pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda. I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom indeed the praise of this mercy belongs. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defenders. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives, those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes.

Broudine says that children at the breasts of mothers and the aged were murdered. In Wexford two thousand men, women and children were slaughtered in the streets of the town.

THE WEXFORD MASSACRE

They knelt around the cross divine,
The matron and the maid—
They bow'd before redemption's sign
And fervently they prayed—
Three hundred fair and helpless ones,
Whose crime was this alone—
Their valiant husbands, sires, and sons
Had battled for their own.

Had battled bravely, but in vain—
The Saxon won the fight,
And Irish corpses strewed the plain
Where Valor slept with Right.
And now, that Man of demon guilt,
To fated Wexford flew—
The red blood reeking on his hilt,
Of hearts to Erin true!

He found them there—the young, the old—
The maiden and the wife;
Their guardians, brave in death, were cold,
Who dared for them the strife.
They prayed for mercy—God on high
Before *they* cross they prayed,
And ruthless Cromwell bade them die
To glut the Saxon blade!

Three hundred fell—the stifled prayer
Was quenched in woman's blood;

Nor youth nor age could move to spare
From slaughter's crimson flood.
But nations keep a stern account
Of deeds that tyrants do;
And guiltless blood to Heaven will mount
And Heaven avenge it, too!

Three thousand men, women and children, of all ranks and ages, took refuge in the Cathedral of Cashel, hoping the Temple of the living God would afford them a sanctuary from the butcheries that were laying the whole country desolate. The barbarian Ireton forced the gates of the church, and let loose his blood-hounds among them, who soon convinced them how vain was their reliance on the temple or the altar of God. They were slaughtered without discrimination. Neither rank, dignity nor character saved the nobleman, the bishop or the priest; nor decrepitude nor his hoary head, the venerable sage bending down into the grave; nor her charms, the virgin; nor her virtues, the respectable matron; nor its helplessness, the smiling infant. Butchery was the order of the day, and all shared the common fate.—*Carey,* p. 351.

In the Sydney papers, London, 1746, is given an account of Sir Richard Cox's services in Ireland, where he makes the following boast:

As to the enemy, I used them like nettles, and squeezed them (I mean their vagabond partyes) soe hard, that they could seldom sting; having, as I believe,

killed and hanged no less than three thousand of them, whilst I stayed in the County of Cork; and taken from them in cattle and plunder, at least to the value of twelve thousand pounds, which you will easily believe, when you know that I divided three hundred and eighty pounds between one troop (Colonel Townsend's) in the beginning of August. After which Colonel Beecher and the western gentlemen got a prey worth three thousand pounds, besides several other lesser preys, taken by small partyes, that are not taken notice of &c.

Lord Clare stated that 11,697,629 acres had been confiscated in Ireland, as follows:

Forfeited up to the close of James I's reign	2,836,837
Forfeited up to close of Charles II's reign	7,800,000
Forfeited at the revolution.....	1,060,792
Total.....	11,697,629

So that the whole of our island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families in the reign of Henry VIII, who recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable portion of the Island had been confiscated twice, or perhaps thrice, in the course of the century. . . . The situation, therefore, of the Irish nation at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world.

The writer thought it more than passing strange in the islands of the West Indies to find black, brown and yellow men with such pronounced Celtic names as O'Brien, Brady, McCarthy and O'Neil, many of them speaking only the Spanish or mixed native tongues, only to learn they were descendants of expatriated Irish, sent to the West Indies as slaves by the English, and, as the stock had run out, gradually took up with and married the native women of mixed bloods. During the Cromwellian period a hundred thousand and more Irish children were taken from their parents, put in chains and transported in the fetid holes of slave ships to labor as slaves on the tropical plantations of the English West Indian colonists. Thirty thousand were sold to the American colonists. Stations were established in Ireland where these unfortunates were confined before being sold into slavery.

Ireland must have exhibited scenes in every part like the slave hunts in Africa. How many girls of gentle birth must have been caught and hurried to the private prisons of these men-catchers none can tell. We are told of one case. Daniel Connery, a gentleman of Clare, was sen-

tenced, in Morrison's presence, to banishment, in 1657, by Colonel Henry Ingoldsby, for harboring a priest. "This gentleman had a wife and twelve children. His wife fell sick and died in poverty. Three of his daughters, beautiful girls, were transferred to the West Indies, to an island called the Barbadoes; and there, if still alive (he says), they are miserable slaves."

In 1653 slave contracts to supply Irish girls were entered into by English army officers. Cromwell suggested that boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen be seized. A contract was made for 1,000 boys and 1,000 slave girls to be transported from Galway in October, 1655.

> No age was spared, no sex, no degree;
> Nor infants in the porch of life were free;
> The sick, the old, who could but hope a day.

Thomas Addis Emmet, one of the most careful of historians, states "to kill an Irishman on sight was not unlawful."

THE TREATY OF LIMERICK

The writer stood near the Treaty Stone of Limerick early one morning in September last listening to some market men denouncing the Germans for the violation of the treaty with Belgium.

History must either deny or justify the contention of Germany that the march across the Belgian frontier was rendered necessary by conditions which are being discussed at present in the heat of awful passion, and, in the opinion of the writer, the hour has not come to argue the case with the spirit or intelligence necessary to form a fair judgment. But the broken Treaty of Limerick is a frightful historic fact, and there in the heart of the city, close to the beautiful flowing river Shannon, stands the memorial, and lodged on the uppermost square of the structure is the stone. The inscription reads:

THE TREATY OF LIMERICK
Signed A.D. 1681

The other monument in Limerick is the statue of General Patrick Sarsfield, one of the great heroes of Ireland and foremost soldiers of Europe. Ireland, unfortunately, had taken the side of the weak King James, who was defeated by King William, a native of Holland, who spoke no English. The last fighting man in Ireland to face the great Dutch warrior, whose fame is second only to Napoleon Bonaparte, was the incomparable Sarsfield, who held out at Limerick

to the last, long after King James had fled, after his overthrow at the battle of the Boyne, which was fought for some days, and decided on July 12, 1690 (Orangeman's Day), a circumstance which has exercised a most powerful effect on the course of Irish history for two centuries. There was only one general in Ireland worthy to cope with the Dutch king, say the military critics, and that man was Sarsfield; but James, being a king, wished to have the engagement fought under his leadership, and lost.

After King James fled to France, the gallant regiments of Sarsfield fought on and refused to yield to superior forces. The French, under Lauzan, deserted Sarsfield at Limerick, where he was besieged while King William destroyed the country surrounding Limerick. Sarsfield, in the night, led his troops out over Thomond Bridge, crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and won a victory. The battle lasted several days, and the English forces retreated. The women fought under Sarsfield with great intrepidity. King William retreated to Clonmel, and left for England, from Dungannon, leaving the army in Ireland in charge of Ginkell. The French again deserted Sarsfield and embarked for France. Gin-

kell, with a great army, besieged Limerick, which Sarsfield defended for seven months. Finally, Ginkell, who was anxious to end the war, and Sarsfield, being alone, although holding the city, signed the celebrated Treaty of Limerick on October 3, 1691. Just then the French fleet arrived in the Shannon River with an army and navy sufficient, with Sarsfield, to defeat the English. But the gallant hero refused to break the treaty, despite the entreaties of his officers. He ordered his army to the Continent, as agreed, where he died on the battlefield of Landen, leading a famous charge at the head of the Irish Brigade at the moment of victory.

The Treaty of Limerick guaranteed civil and religious liberty, and was a sort of a Magna Charta for Ireland. The treaty was quickly violated, proscription followed, 2,000,000 acres of land was confiscated, and the trade and commerce of the island transferred by law to England. The violated Treaty of Limerick was followed by all the horrors of the Penal Days, as well as the period of greatest decay in Irish commerce and industry. No English historian has endeavored to justify the breaking of Limerick's historic treaty.

LEST WE FORGET

The Irish people are anxious for fear the German aircraft will hover over Ireland and drop bombs on the towns. Sir Edward Carson of Ulster warns the people of Ireland to beware of the certainty of attacks from the skies. We are in position to state that assurances have been received from the German Government that it is not its present intention to attack Ireland from the air. After England has been subjugated and conquered the Germans will take over Ireland and make of it a free nation.

The Irish press denounces the Germans in unmeasured terms for dropping bombs on the undefended English towns. The same newspapers praised the English aeroplane fliers, earlier in the war, who dropped bombs on German fishing villages on the way to the German naval base. They have approved the daring French aviators dropping bombs on undefended German towns. They seem to have forgotten the fact that the French airmen dropped bombs on the undefended German town of *Nurnberg* even *before* war was declared. The Germans are merely retaliating with their Zeppelins and other aircraft by attacking coast and arsenal towns containing munitions of war, wireless stations, coast artillery, barracks,

and places believed to be occupied by soldiers. Of course, this murderous art of modern warfare on both sides causes one to shudder, but the Allies began it and are now paying the severer penalty because of the greater skill of the German airmen. When the English soldiers in 1814 destroyed Washington, the American capital, applying the torch to the national capital buildings, burning the White House, the home of the President, and fired the newspaper plants, there was much righteous indignation.

Green's "History of England" states that this work of vandalism was pursued under strict orders from the British Government.

"Willingly," said the *London Statesman,* "would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington. The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the capital of America."

(*From the New York World, January* 28, 1915.)

INQUIRY IN BRITAIN FINDS NO OUTRAGES DONE TO BELGIANS

THOUSANDS OF CHARGES MADE AGAINST GERMANS INVESTIGATED BY GOVERNMENT AND FOUND BASELESS

WASHINGTON, January 27.—Of the thousands of Belgian refugees who are now in England not one has been subjected to atrocities by German soldiers.

This, in effect, is the substance of a report received at the State Department from the American Embassy in London. The report states that the British Government thoroughly had investigated thousands of reports to the effect that German soldiers had perpetrated outrages on the fleeing Belgians.

During the early period of the war columns of British newspapers were filled with the accusations.

Agents of the British Government, according to the report from the American Embassy at London, carefully investigated all of these charges; they interviewed the alleged victims and sifted all the evidence.

As a result of the investigation the British Foreign Office notified the American Embassy that the charges appeared to be based upon hysteria and natural prejudice. The report added that many of the Belgians had suffered severe hardships, but they should be charged up against the exigencies of war rather than the brutality of the individual German soldiers.

CHAPTER XI

THE IRISH HOME RULE BILL

"Mockery of Irish Independence is not what we want. The bauble of a powerless Parliament does not lure us."—THOMAS DAVIS.

"The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion."—EDMUND BURKE.

THE present writer has in his possession one of the few copies of the Home Rule measure signed by the King, subject to Ulster amendments and the partition of Ireland along newly marked religious lines, the whole shaky structure to be held back until after the settlement of the war, and offered now as a legislative recruiting bait to catch soldiers.

The most widely circulated newspaper in Ireland is the *Dublin Freeman's Journal,* the chief organ of Leader John Redmond. A recent issue (November 21st) continues to publish the most startling stories of "German Atrocities," known to be false on this side, but designed to help recruiting. Here are a few of the scare headlines:

MURDER AND RAPINE.

GERMAN'S WARFARE ON THE DEFENCELESS.

GERMAN SAVAGES.

DEVILS AND BEASTS.

"The first Prussian soldier that lands in Ireland will be the public executioner, etc." Editorially, the paper bemoans the failure of Irish exports last year and says that Ireland's economic path is the reverse of any other country, and that Ireland alone, among European countries, has an excess of food exports over manufactures. Of course, having no industries to enable wage-workers to eat the products of Irish farms, the surplus must be exported. Could Germany do worse?

I was surprised in Ireland this fall to find many farmers in the south of Ireland opposed to the Home Rule Bill, solely on the ground that their taxes would be increased by the army of office-holders created under the local government. As there are few factories, outside of three counties, it follows that the burden of carrying the new

government must fall on the farmers. And, with an amended bill, which Mr. Redmond agreed to accept last spring in conference, eliminating the chief industrial boroughs of Ulster from the act, the farmers would be further burdened by the office-holding class living off the rates collected from the poor districts. The great manufacturing cities of the United States, to a considerable extent, relieve the farmer from excessive state, often county, and national taxation, because of the heavy assessments placed on factory property, or stock and bonds relating to it. Agricultural laborers are the poorest paid class of laborers, and have no money to spare beyond the bare subsistence from the land. The factory worker is often a skilled wage-earner, and it is this class only, unknown to most of Ireland, who can insure the prosperity of a nation. An Irish manufacturing world would not only furnish the farmer with a home market for his products, but would furnish a steady guarantee of good prices so the farmer would have more money for his family. The nearest to the best known condition of prosperity is where a country supplies diversified manufacture, commerce and agriculture. When Ireland relied solely on the potato for

life, the black blight of famine swept over the land, and millions died from starvation, the plague, or fled the country.

THE TERMS OF THE HOME RULE BILL

The text of the opening clause of the Home Rule Bill follows:

A bill to amend the provision for the government of Ireland.

Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's spiritual and temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same, as follows:

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

1. On and after the appointed day there shall be in Ireland an Irish Parliament consisting of His Majesty the King and two houses, namely, the Irish Senate and the Irish House of Commons.

2. Notwithstanding the establishment of the Irish Parliament or anything contained in this Act, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished o'er all persons, matters and things within His Majesty's dominions.

The Irish Parliament *shall not* have power to make laws in respect of the following matters, in particular, or any of them, namely:

1. The Crown, or the succession to the Crown, or a Regency or the Lord Lieutenant, except as respects the exercise of his executive power in relation to Irish services as defined for the purposes of this Act. Or (2) The making of peace or war or matters arising from a state of war or the regulation of the conduct or any portion of His Majesty's subjects during the existence of hostilities between foreign states with which His Majesty is at peace in relation to those hostilities; or (3) the navy, the army, the territorial force or any other naval or military force or the defence of the realm, or any other naval or military matter; or (4) treaties of any relations with foreign states or relations with other parts of His Majesty's Dominions, or offences connected with any such treaties, or relations, or procedure connected with the extradition of criminals under any treaty, or the return of fugitive offenders from or to any part of His Majesty's Dominions; or (5) dignities or titles of honor; or (6) treason, felony, alienage naturalization, or aliens as such; or (7) trade with any place out of Ireland (except so far as trade may be affected by the exercise of the powers of taxation given to the Irish Parliament, or by the regulation of importation for the sole purpose of preventing contagious disease), Quarantine or navigation, including merchant shipping (except as respects inland waters and local health or harbor regulations); or (8) lighthouses, buoys or beacons (except so far as they can consistently with any general Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom be constructed or maintained by a local harbor authority);

or (9) coinage, legal tender, or any change in the standard of weights and measures; or (10) trademarks, designs, merchandise marks, copyright or patent rights; or (11) any of the following matters (in this Act referred to as reserved matters), namely: (a) the general subject matter of the Acts relating to land purchase in Ireland; the Old Age Pensions Acts, 1908 and 1911; the National Insurance Act, 1911; and the Labor Exchanges Act, 1909; (b) the collection of taxes; (c) the Royal Irish Constabulary, and the management and control of that force; (d) Post Office Savings Banks, Trustee Savings Banks, and friendly societies; and (e) public loans made in Ireland before the passing of this Act, provided that the limitation on the powers of the Irish Parliament under this section shall cease as respects any such reserved matter if the corresponding reserved service is transferred to the Irish Government under the provisions of this Act. Any law made in contravention of the limitations imposed by this section shall so far as it contravenes those limitations be void.

EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

Clause 4.—(1) The Executive power in Ireland shall continue vested in His Majesty the King, and nothing in this Act shall affect the exercise of that power, except as respects Irish services as defined for the purposes of this Act. (2) As respects those Irish services the Lord Lieutenant or other chief executive officer or officers for the time being appointed in his place on behalf of His Majesty, shall exercise any pre-

rogative or other executive power of His Majesty, the exercise of which may be delegated to him by His Majesty. (3) The power so delegated shall be exercised through such Irish departments as may be established by Irish Act or subject thereto by the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Lieutenant may appoint officers to administer those departments, and those officers shall hold office during the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant. (4) The persons who are for the time being heads of such Irish departments as may be determined by Irish Act or in the absence of any such determination by the Lord Lieutenant and such other persons (if any) as the Lord Lieutenant may appoint, shall be the Irish Ministers.

IRISH PARLIAMENT

1. There shall be a session of the Irish Parliament once at least in every year.

2. The Lord Lieutenant shall in His Majesty's name summon and prorogue and dissolve the Irish Parliament.

7. The Lord Lieutenant shall give or withhold the consent of His Majesty to bills passed by the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, subject to the following limitations, namely: (1) He shall comply with any instructions given by His Majesty the King in respect of any such bill; and (2) he shall, if so directed by the King, postpone giving the assent of His Majesty to any such bill presented to him for assent for such period as His Majesty may direct.

Clause 8.—Part 1. The Irish Senate shall consist of

forty senators, *nominated* as respects the *first senators* by the Lord Lieutenant, subject to any instructions given by His Majesty in respect of the nominations, and afterward by the Lord Lieutenant on the advice of the Executive Committee. The term of office of each senator shall be eight years. Vacancies in the Senate to be filled by the Lord Lieutenant.

The Irish House of Commons shall consist of 164 members, returned by the constituencies of Ireland.

AN ATTENUATED MEASURE

The act is more surprising in what it estops Ireland from doing than for any great measures of legislative relief whereby a nation is made healthy and enduring in the economic sense.

The representation of Ireland in the British House of Commons is cut down from 105 to 42. As the principal power over Ireland is still invested in the British House of Commons, the reduction will seriously affect the influence of the Irish members at London. The changes for the good of Ireland are briefly as follows:

An Irish treasury and fund is created which collects the proceeds of all taxes levied in Ireland. All local taxation is handled by the new administration. The Irish Parliament cannot change the tariffs on exports or imports, but can

control and rearrange its internal finances, subject, of course, to the veto of the nominated Senate and the King. Irish control is given to all purely local improvements. Various funds, now managed in London, are transferred to Ireland, the money to be disbursed by joint exchequer boards. The Irish Government can make loans without going to London.

PROVISIONS AS TO JUDICIAL POWER

Clause 27—A Judge of the Supreme Court or other Superior Court in Ireland, or of any County Court, or other Court with a like jurisdiction in Ireland, appointed after the passing of this Act, shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and shall hold his office by the same tenure as that by which the office is held at the time of the passing of this Act, with the substitution of an address from both Houses of the Irish Parliament for an address from both Houses of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and during his continuance in office his salary shall not be diminished or his right to pension altered without his consent.

Clause 28.—(1) The appeal from Courts in Ireland to the House of Lords shall cease, and where any person would but for this Act have a right to appeal from any Court in the land to the House of Lords, that person shall have the like right to appeal to His Majesty in Council, and all enactments relating to His

Majesty the King in Council and to the judicial committee of the Privy Council shall apply accordingly. (2) When judicial committee sit for hearing any appeal from a Court in Ireland, in pursuance of any provisions of this Act, there shall be present not less than four Lords of Appeal within the meaning of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876, and at least one member who is or has been a Judge of the Supreme Court in Ireland. (3) A rota of Privy Councillors to sit for hearing Appeals from Courts in Ireland shall be made annually by His Majesty in council and the Privy Councillors or some of them on that rota shall sit to hear the said appeals. A casual vacancy occurring in the rota during the year may be filled by Order in Council. (4) Nothing in this Act shall affect the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to determine the claim to Irish Peerages.

Clause 30.—(1) Where any decision of the Court of Appeal in Ireland involves the decision of any question as to the validity of any law made in the Irish Parliament and the decisions not otherwise subject to an appeal to His Majesty the King in council, an appeal shall lie to His Majesty the King in council by virtue of this section, but only by leave of the Court of Appeal or His Majesty. (2) Where any decision of a Court in Ireland involves the decision of any question as to the validity of any law made by the Irish Parliament, and the decision is not subject to any appeal to the Court of Appeal in Ireland, as appeal shall

lie to the Court of Appeal in Ireland by virtue of this section.

Clause 31.—(1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any Act, every subject of His Majesty shall be qualified to hold the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland without reference to his religious belief. (2) The term of office of the Lord Lieutenant shall be six years without prejudice to the power of His Majesty at any time to revoke the appointment. (3) The salary and expenses of the Lord Lieutenant shall be paid out of moneys provided by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but there shall be deducted from the transferred sum in each year toward the payment of the Lord Lieutenant's salary a sum of £5,000.

All existing British officials in the Civil Service of Ireland are continued in office, but the Irish administration can create new offices for departments in the new bill, not hitherto organized. The Irish Parliament shall have no control over the police or constabulary for at least six years. It is up to the King to decide whether he shall turn over the government buildings in Ireland to the Irish Government.

POWERS OF VARYING TAXATION

The bill confers on the Irish Parliament the following financial powers:

1. It may add to the rate of excise duties, customs duties on beer and spirits, stamp duties (with certain exceptions).

2. It may add to an extent not exceeding ten per cent. to the income tax, death duties, or customs duties other than the duties on beer and spirits imposed by the Imperial Parliament.

3. It may levy any new taxes other than new customs duties.

4. It may reduce any tax levied in Ireland with the exception of certain stamp duties, etc.

The Imperial Treasury will collect the revenue arising from any increases in taxation enacted by the Irish Parliament in the exercise of those powers and an addition will be made to the transferred sum of such amount as the Joint Exchequer Board may determine to be the produce of the additional taxation. Similarly if taxation is reduced by the Irish Parliament a deduction will be made from the transferred sum corresponding to the loss of revenue due to the repeal of a tax or to the collection at the lower rates. The Irish Exchequer will, therefore, gain or lose by any increase or decrease in taxation enacted by the Irish Parliament, but the net revenue of the Imperial Exchequer will remain unaffected by such changes.

If excise or customs duties are imposed at dif-

ferent rates in Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, provision is made for the adjustment of taxes paid in respect of articles passing from one country to the other. As administrative difficulties might arise in certain cases if the ten per cent. limitation mentioned above were in terms to prohibit additions to the taxes in question to an extent of more than ten per cent. of the normal tax, the bill effects the object in view by enacting that only such proceeds of the tax as do not exceed ten per cent. of the yield of the imperial tax shall be transferred to the Irish Exchequer. The bill makes no specific reference to the powers of the Imperial Parliament to levy taxation in Ireland. The provision in Clause 1 that the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain with the existing powers of the Imperial Parliament rules in this regard.

The governmental revenues of Ireland are scarcely above $54,000,000. The Home Rule Bill will give financial control to the Irish administration of about $35,000,000. The best estimate in Ireland is that about 1,400 offices will be created under the act, which will be given to the present followers of the politicians in control of

the Parliamentary Party. The increase in taxation can only come out of excise taxes or raising the value of land, as Ireland, or that portion of it included in the act, has few manufactures. There is no hope for an industrial revival through an act which expressly *prohibits* Ireland from having any control whatsoever over foreign trade, treason, aliens, quarantine, navigation, lighthouses, coinage, legal tender, trade-marks, patent rights, police, banks, or merchant shipping.

But will this attenuated and disappointing measure be finally adopted after all? (1) The Conservative Party in England have declared that their opposition is in no way abated. (2) The Ulster Unionists have renewed their covenant against any form of Home Rule. The Ulster Unionists are powerful, because they are backed by the whole of the conservative and aristocratic forces in England. In addition to this normal backing, they have now put the Liberal authors of the Home Rule measure under obligations to them. The Ulster leaders have handed their volunteers with their arms to the British War Office. They must have been given some assurances before they did this. The assurances that the Ulster Unionist leaders would ask

would be that the Home Rule measure should be allowed to remain a dead letter.*

*Professor Robert Ellis Thompson, of Pennsylvania, is one of the most noted of American political economists. He says that "Ireland is in the best position possible for protesting against the whole system, of which she has been the most conspicuous victim. Some of her American friends plead that England has been so good to her that she owes to the British Empire the utmost exertion in the present crisis. They point to the concession of Home Rule as binding the country to perpetual loyalty.

"They do not seem to be aware that any self-governing colony of the empire, not excepting the Boers, who were fighting Great Britain so recently, enjoys far more Home Rule than the new legislation will secure to Ireland. They all have in their hands the fiscal legislation, which enables them to secure the prosperity of their people by developing their industry. Ireland is denied this most strictly, and is left still dependent upon the fruits of her agriculture, with the certainty of famine whenever the crops fail.

"They remind us that Ireland gets a larger share of the old age pensions than either England or Scotland. They forget that the poverty of Ireland, caused by the destruction of her manufactures, has driven and is driving out so many of her able-bodied people, as to make the proportion of aged people in the census far greater than in any other country of the world. They speak reproachfully of the scanty response to English recruiting for the war. Do they expect Ireland to deplete her scanty population of military age by sending out for England the soldiers the latter cannot enlist at home?"

CHAPTER XII

OUR INTERFERENCE IN IRELAND

JOHN REDMOND is the chosen leader of the Irish Nationalist Party—that is, of the political group which alone can speak and act for Ireland. The Irish people are the best judges of the war situation in their own land. They have to live in Ireland. What business have persons of Irish blood, citizens of other countries, to be giving gratuitous advice to the people at home, who resent all this outside interference and are able to decide what is best for themselves? This is the view taken by most Americans. To the average man this view of Ireland seems the only sane and sensible one. He is surprised, therefore, that any considerable number of American citizens are found interfering with the will of the Irish Parliamentary Party; and, knowing little of the history of Ireland, our average friends become impatient with our singular attitude, and advise us to mind our own business, adding, if the Irish want to follow Redmond's appeal for troops and go off to the Continent and get killed and wounded

for the British Empire, let them go—it is none of our affair.

This argument would be most effective and unanswerable if made to any race in the world other than the Irish. If the Germans or the French in America were advising their brothers in the old land not to fight for their country, they would present a spectacle which would cause general criticism and resentment. They would not dream of making such a protest. They take no active part in the affairs of the country from whence they emigrated, and their interest is merely sentimental.

The Irish race presents a unique and isolated position. It is the one nation in the world where for every one of its sons living in Ireland at least five live in some other country. There are more persons of Irish blood in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago than any city in Ireland. There are nearly as many Irish in Liverpool or Melbourne as in Dublin or Belfast. Marcus Daly of Butte, great copper mine owner, once remarked that the Irish of Montana possessed more wealth than two of four provinces in Ireland.

The *Southern Cross* of Buenos Ayres, Argen-

tine Republic, an Irish paper, contains more columns of advertising than any newspaper in Ireland. There are many newspapers in America which specialize in Irish news. Some of them have managed to get along for many years without having to furnish any other class of news. Others publish an Irish page or two of news from the various counties in Ireland. In each diocese there are Catholic papers, and the majority of them give space to Irish affairs. The Irish societies are numerous, some of them wealthy, and they keep alive the patriotic spirit. They hold thousands of meetings, outside of Ireland, to renew the memories of great anniversary days—Robert Emmet, the Manchester martyrs, Wolfe Tone, Thomas Moore, and others. And they have practically, by common consent, made the birth of Saint Patrick a national holiday in the United States.

The true Irish exiles, transplanted to lands of freedom, long to see Ireland a free nation. They know they can succeed and do succeed in commerce and industry everywhere in the world outside of Ireland. The spirit of freedom has preserved the homogeneity of the Celts, and the eternal principle of liberty is the keynote for all im-

portant Irish-American societies, celebrations, newspapers, and dramas, and they seem able to hand down that spirit through three and four generations. Make of Erin a mere West British dependency and you have destroyed the soul and spirit of the movement which has been inspired by the love and faith of the emigrants.

LAMENT OF THE IRISH EMIGRANT

I'm sittin' on the stile, Mary,
Where we sat side by side
On a bright May mornin' long ago,
When first you were my bride.
The corn was springin' fresh and green,
The lark sang loud and high,
And the red was on your lip, Mary,
And the love-light in your eye.

The place is little changed, Mary,
The sky is bright as then,
The lark's loud song is in my ear
And the corn is green again;
But I miss the soft clasp of your hand,
And your breath warm on my cheek,
And I still keep listening for the words
You never more will speak.

'Tis but a step down yonder lane,
And the little church stands near,—

The church where we were wed, Mary,—
I see the spire from here.
But the graveyard lies between, Mary,
And my step might break your rest,—
For I've laid you, darling, down to sleep,
With your baby on your breast.

I'm very lonely now, Mary,
For the poor make no new friends,
But, O, they love the better still
The few our Father sends!
And you were all I had, Mary,
My blessin' and my pride;
There's nothing left to care for now,
Since my poor Mary died.

Yours was the good, brave heart, Mary,
That still kept hoping on,
When the trust in God had left my soul,
And my arm's young strength was gone;
There was comfort ever in your lip,
And the kind look on your brow,—
I bless you, Mary, for that same,
Though you cannot hear me now.

I thank you for the patient smile,
When your heart was fit to break,
When the hunger pain was gnawin' there,
And you hid it for my sake!
I bless you for the pleasant word
When your heart was sad and sore,—

O, I'm thankful you are gone, Mary,
Where grief can't reach you more!

I'm biddin' you a long farewell,
My Mary kind and true;
But I'll not forget *you,* darlin',
In the land I'm goin' to.
They say there's bread and work for all,
And the sun shines always there,
But I'll not forget old Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair.

And often in those grand old woods,
I'll sit and shut my eyes,
And my heart will travel back again
To the place where Mary lies;
And I'll think I see the little stile
Where we sat side by side,
And the springin' corn, and bright May morn,
When first you were my bride.

As the expatriated sons of Ireland found refuge in the four quarters of the globe, among them were many men and women of genius, their thoughts turned to the land of their hope and sorrows, and they are the men who have made possible every reform secured by agitation, and no important social betterment ever comes without ceaseless agitation. There are no "Scotch"

or "Welsh" members of Parliament, but there is an Irish Nationalist Party of seventy or more. And there could not possibly have existed a purely Irish party without the moral and practical assistance of patriotic men and women in various parts of the world. Irish freedom and liberty means something more to us than mere sentiment and pride. No material or individual benefit can come to any American from the success of the Irish cause. A number of our best men, with fine minds, who might well have succeeded in other pursuits, have become impoverished waiting, and watching, and working to see the beacon fires of freedom burning on the shores of the Emerald Isle. It is not the millions and millions of dollars sent across the seas that we regret, but the thing we cannot let escape our minds is the hideous fact that the money to save Ireland built up a political machine which is now crushing the young Irish, driving those to war who should have been saved for Ireland.

America was the country which opened its great arms and provided a harbor of refuge for our exiles, and worthy adopted sons, indeed, many of them proved to be.

Our friends, who know where the real work

of Irish emancipation was often started, realize the peculiar reasons which exist for the apparent interference of men and women of Irish blood with Redmond's plan of surrendering the youth of Ireland.

Michael Davitt may be said to have founded the Land League which enabled the present Irish Party to live and exist for thirty years on a great issue, "the land for the people." Davitt, in 1846, saw his home destroyed by the English soldiers. He saw his father and mother starving, begging for bread on the streets of England. As a child he lost his right arm in an English factory. He joined the Fenian movement, was arrested in 1870, convicted on the evidence of an informer—Corydon—and sentenced to fifteen years at hard labor. He was released in 1877, came to the United States the next year and settled in Brooklyn, where he and Mr. John Devoy laid out the plan for the land movement, which brought into being thousands of branches of the Land League in various parts of the world and saved the Irish national movement. Without the aid of several millions of dollars from America and a world-wide propaganda, the British Government would have suppressed the League and the

landlords would still be in possession of the land. All this vast supply of energy, time, money, press and organization has been given to make Ireland free, and mostly by agencies outside of Ireland; hence, the feeling of horror to see the cause betrayed that the British Empire may be saved to exploit Ireland further.

CHAPTER XIII

ENGLISH SOCIETY TEMPTS IRISH LEADERS

AMERICAN visitors to London express themselves in terms of amazement over the noticeable efforts of Irish leaders to ascend the ladder of high society, to become drawing-room favorites or secure the social attentions of dukes and duchesses. One of the "patriots" kept four Irish-American visitors waiting outside the House of Commons three hours while he was taking tea with a duchess and a countess. When they finally got his ear, for five minutes (they had come 3,000 miles), the only subject he could talk about was the charm and grace of the duchess, who had evidently patronized and flattered him to his bent. One of the party, who had contributed $6,000 to the cause of Ireland, was so disgusted with that leader that he withdrew from the movement on his return to America. Not a word was said by the member on the subject of Irish progress.

An Irish speech in a London drawing-room is a gentle, cooing, purring sort of an address, fit only for mollycoddles to hear, and positively

painful and humiliating to real Nationalists. The ladies of the nobility stare through their lorgnettes at the Irish member of Parliament as though he were some curious specimen of the human animal, and as he delivers himself of certain harmless generalities that are not in dispute, the ladies applaud and compliment the orator on his charming grace and tact. During the past decade the Irish "patriot" was sure of vying with the Indian princes or the blacks from Africa as a social top liner, and "my lady's receptions" in the London social season are considered incomplete without an "Irishman." Of course, the blooded aristocrats privately view them as interlopers, and secretly detest them as "social climbers and bounders," but tolerate their presence in the drawing-room as a necessary attraction and the source of some little amusement for their women. The Irish social climber who can tell a good story or sing a good song may become a social lion; but if he should attempt to discuss Home Rule with his society friends, that would be the end of his drawing-room career. He has children to educate and advance, age is telling on him, the patronage of the powerful and wealthy is necessary, and the Anglicizing of the family proceeds apace.

How different the roars of the Irish social lion on this side, when the campaign for funds is under way! Then it is, "Ireland must be free from the centre to the sea." If the British Government could be destroyed by metaphors, he would have succeeded in a single night. The orator is three or four thousand miles away, the London newspapers publish little or no American news, the Irish member can tug away at the British lion's tail in entire safety in Carnegie Hall, New York; the Academy of Music, Philadelphia; the Tivoli, of San Francisco, or the Auditorium, of Chicago, and other towns, the band playing "The Wearing of the Green" and "God Save Ireland," and a great-hearted Irish audience waving the green and the red, white and blue colors, and the golden shekels pouring in the laps of the visitors to keep the party alive in Ireland.

The greatest Irish leader in the past sixty years was Charles Stewart Parnell. The one supremely valuable piece of English legislation, the Land Act, we owe to him. Parnell was an iron disciplinarian when in his prime. He knew certain weaknesses of the Irish character; their desire for society, their facile success in the drawing-room, and he was aware of their temptations

through poverty, through convivialities, through their affections, their love of horses, and he knew that all these pleasures and successes were controlled by an enervated and jaded aristocracy seeking new sensations. Parnell established a rule in the Irish Party that no member should attend the social functions of the society set which rules London. This made trouble for him, naturally, among the wives and daughters of members of Parliament. His reply to this criticism was in this comment: "The very best party that Ireland can send to the English Parliament will not last ten years intact. English social influence, English suavity and English gold will break up any Irish combination in due time." And the very thing is happening to-day that this leader foresaw. One of the foremost American newspaper writers, an Irishman living in London for several years in close touch with the Irish members, remarked, "Why, those lads are Irish only when they are in America; they are denationalized in London."

The only Irishman who makes a business of writing on Irish topics for the American newspapers is a clever journalist, T. P. O'Connor, member of Parliament, representing one of the

city of Liverpool seats. His constituency is largely Irish, and he has been elected as an Irish Nationalist for thirty years. The writer spent a day among the Irish of Liverpool last August. They are extremely poor, having been landed in this English city after the famine, and employed mostly as laborers on ships and docks. O'Connor has long become altogether West British, and his writings ought not to be accepted by American newspapers, as they give the English and not the Irish point of view. He is well known in London as a hack journalist, and for ten years past his tributes to the British army have been nauseating. The four leaders of the party who are forcing recruiting are Redmond, Dillon, Devlin and O'Connor, aided by William O'Brien of Cork. All but Devlin are old men, dead to ambition, doubtless exhausted by the long struggle, and ready now to surrender the lives of the young men of Ireland in return for a few legislative concessions. They follow the line of least resistance, and no longer oppose the pushing young politicians who wish to advance themselves in English society, or secure employment in the British civil service.

A curious confirmation of the decadent state

to which social climbing and cringing to the aristocracy has brought the Irish Party, has just come to hand. The Irish Nationalists on this side of the Atlantic Ocean have been saying that at last the country was going to have its first viceroy under Home Rule, and he would probably be an Irish peer recommended by an Irish Government. The race for the great office under the "Home Rule Act" is confined to two aristocrats, one the keeper of the king's stables, the other a polo player, both noblemen. The following cable dispatch appeared in the *New York Tribune:*

FIGHT ON FOR POST OF IRISH VICEROY

NATIONALISTS WANT EARL GRANARD, CHURCHILL AIDS LORD WIMBORNE

LONDON, Dec. 14.—The contest between Lord Wimborne and Earl Granard for the post of Viceroy of Ireland, which Earl Aberdeen is about to resign, is the most exciting feature of domestic politics at the moment. Both already hold offices in the government, and it is understood that Wimborne has the strongest pull with the Cabinet. Winston Churchill is using all his efforts to secure the office for his first cousin.

Granard finds his main support among the Irish Nationalists, who do not care overmuch for Churchill

or his relatives and think that the appointment of Granard, an Irishman, first Viceroy under Home Rule would be appropriate and desirable. Granard's other chief source of strength is from the Court, where, as master of the horse, he has made himself very popular, and although in theory the Court does not interfere in political appointments, it can often put in a decisive word where there is a difficulty of choice.

Since Wimborne has represented the Irish Government in the House of Lords he has found its atmosphere chilling. His success with the British polo team in the United States was achieved under the utmost discouragement at the hands of the polo authorities here, actuated, absurd as it may appear, by political hostility because he was a supporter of the Home Rule Bill.

Granard, as a Catholic, has been nominally disqualified from being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with five-sixths of its population Catholic, but under the Home Rule Bill this remnant of the penal laws has been removed. Wimborne is a Protestant, and it is contended in his favor that should Sir Edward Carson attempt to fulfil his threats of revolt in Ulster after the war it would be advisable that the Ulster Orangemen should not have the excuse of charging the King's representative in Ireland with religious bias, which, of course, they would do.

Premier Asquith has rarely had a more awkward decision to make, both on personal and ministerial grounds. A delicate feature of the case is that the wives of the Cabinet ministers and leading ladies of

the Court and society are pulling every imaginable string on behalf of their particular candidate. It is possible that the Premier may find himself driven in self-defence to put both Wimborne and Granard aside and select some compromise candidate.

Lord Wimborne, the Englishman, has been given the high office in preference to the two Irish peers who have been writing for it—Lords Fingall and Granard. The outgoing viceroy, Lord Aberdeen, has had the bad taste to lay claim to an almost sacred title. He wishes to be known as Marquis of Aberdeen and Tara. Tara was the seat of the high kings of Ireland from pre-Christian times. These kings—"emperors of the Scots" or "Gaels" ("Imperator Scotorum")—were always known as kings of Tara. Hence, all Irish Nationalists regard it as an outrage and almost a sacrilege that this venerable name should be tagged on to a British nobleman's title. The spectacle has excited even an English poet, William Watson, to write a denunciatory poem against Lord Aberdeen. It has been published in the London *Evening News:*

TARA PROFANED

Tara, the palace of Kings, the hill of fate!
Tara, the throne of song, the hallowed shrine!

Tagged as a tassel to your Marquisate,
Made an appurtenance of your house and line!

Who cares though you were Marquis ten times o'er?
Bemarquis'd or bedecked—who cares a straw?
But linked with Erin's immemorial lore,
Her memories sacrosanct, her mount of awe!

Nay, why so modest? Why so humble? Why
Pause in your too meek flight on Tara Hill?
"Marquis of Aberdeen and Sinai"—
Consider: were not this ev'n better still?

God made me English—English through and
through—
But bound to Ireland by one bond supreme.
I know her soul—something unknown to you—
Her vision and her passion and her dream.

I know, as all know who have breathed her air,
How transient, how unrooted in her heart,
A mere ephemeral thing of passage there,
Were you that in her glories claim a part.

And this last insult before gazing men—
This ignominy bitterest yet by far—
She will remember and forgive not when
You in Time's volume an erasure are.

You soon enough will be by her forgot,
Lodged in some suburb of her thoughts were you;

But this will as a proverb live of what
Dull, sightless, soulless statesmanship can do.

This profanation, blind and coarse and crude,
Of things the holiest held from sea to sea—
This is immortal as ineptitude;
This is eternal as stupidity.

And even to this from all the ages past,
Through all the long self-torturing Ireland came:
Left to her disillusions at the last,
And Tara fallen a pendant to your name!

CHAPTER XIV

FOMENTING RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES

THE British Government is straining every effort to prejudice the Christian population of neutral countries against Germany. With that aim in view, for the first time in centuries, England has sent a duly accredited ambassador to the Vatican at Rome. The English newspapers are filled with the alleged important news of this mission. From Rome appear frequent despatches suggesting that the Turks are murdering Christians at various points and driving them out of the holy city of Jerusalem. The alleged ill-treatment and imprisonment of the venerable Cardinal Mercier of Belgium has been shown to be merely an invented story designed to inflame Catholic opinion. The arrest of the venerable bishop of Lemberg in Poland by the Russians is not an invention, but little is being said about it in the press of this country. The lies have to some extent affected the Irish clergy and, to a lesser extent, are believed by the clergymen in the United States and other neutral countries. A special drive along

this line is being made by English publicists to enlist Catholic support and sympathies, as the Roman Catholic population in North and South America is fully one-half of all of the people on the Western Hemisphere. If English diplomacy at Rome could, in any manner, secure a declaration from the Vatican denouncing the "atrocities" on the part of the Germans, the British authorities figure that a proclamation of that significance would be worth 150,000 recruits and, what is even more important, give England the moral support of a majority of the Christian world, which she lacks to-day. All sensible Catholics should be on guard against the sinister news bearing Rome dating, and they should resent the British effort to inspire hatred of Germany along religious lines. Catholics can hardly forget that the people of Austria-Hungary are nearly all Roman Catholics and that the dual monarchy has been the bulwark of Catholicism in Europe in much the same way that the Russians have supported the Greek Orthodox Church.

The Austrians have long been loyal and devoted supporters of the Pope, while the head of the Greek Orthodox Church is the Czar of Rus-

sia, who now appeals to "My dear Jews" to save the Russian autocracy after the recent massacres at Kishiniff and other places. It is well known the present French Government is made up chiefly of atheists and has, practically, destroyed the Roman Catholic Church organization in France. In Germany, on the other hand, there exists full religious freedom and liberty, and a very large and devout Catholic population, fully two-fifths of the German people.

A striking instance of this devotion is seen in a letter printed in the *Koelnische Volkszeitung* last month, from a German army chaplain, giving an impressive description of service held for German soldiers in a church in France, when after Mass the local curé pathetically urged the French people to emulate the example of the soldiers and return to God. The letter reads as follows:

The curé of —— lives in a deserted castle, about fifteen minutes' walk from the church. The owner of the castle furnished a few rooms for him when the church's bad patronage had been declared property of the state at the time church and state were separated.

I held service in his church on Sunday. It was filled to overflowing. To the right sat the soldiers, with the officers at their head; to the left the women and chil-

dren of the congregation. I delivered a short sermon and afterward celebrated High Mass. The soldiers sang their German songs with such enthusiasm that it was a pleasure to hear them and at the end sang the Doxology. A great number of soldiers and their officers received communion. The pastor and the congregation did not take their eyes away from the unusual performance. After the service the soldiers marched out of the church solemnly.

As I stepped into the vestry room the French priest looked at me in amazement. He said nothing and stepped before the Communion Table in order to announce the Masses for the following week to the congregation. Every Monday there was to be High Mass for the soldiers in the field, every Tuesday High Mass for those who had fallen. Then he continued, more loudly and with greater stress:

"My dear parishioners, I will not keep you long today. The German soldiers preached the sermon for you. The Germans are our enemies, it is true. But a nation of men and soldiers who, with their officers at their head, hallow Sunday by enthusiastic songs, by receiving the Holy Sacrament, by their pious bearing, and who without shame or fear acknowledge their faith before the whole world, commands our respect and admiration and makes us sad when we think of our own present condition.

"Poor France, once so great and now so humbled! No, we may not murmur nor complain because God is chastising France with this terrible flail of war. We

must patiently bear this punishment, and we must imitate the example of the German people. We must return to the God of our fathers; then God will bless France again."

There are many false stories circulating through Ireland charging the German Government with discriminating against Catholics and, in some places, actually persecuting them. These writers assert that the German bigots, with the spirit of hate in their hearts, in penetrating Belgium, deliberately destroyed convents, shrines, churches and sacred things. The writer received some letters from Ireland where people actually believed that the Germans murdered the Sisters of Charity in the hospitals and never permitted themselves to march past a convent without abusing and maltreating the nuns and burning the buildings to the ground.

John Redmond has been the principal offender in this respect, often publicly charging the Germans with being the destroyers of convents and churches. Therefore, the writer asked Doctor Dernburg for some information as to the relations of Protestants and Catholics in Germany, the feeling and attitude of the government

toward Roman Catholics and received the following interesting reply:

Of all the nations harboring a mixed Protestant-Catholic population, Germany has the largest percentage of Catholics. Indeed, many parts of the country are nearly purely Catholic as, for instance, the old Archbishopric of Cologne, the Bishopric of Trier, a very large part of Posnania, the upper part of Silesia, as well as the greater part of the Kingdom of Bavaria. Two of the four German Kings and their houses are Catholic, namely the King of Bavaria and the King of Saxony, and if a change in the throne of Wurttemberg occurs, the throne will fall to the Catholic line of the house of Urach.—Indeed, more than one-third of all Germany is Catholic, together more than 23 million people, which corresponds to the representation of the German Catholics in the Reichstag who have a party of their own called the Centre Party, that musters about 115 votes out of a total of 397.

It stands to reason that in such a community the utmost good feeling between the members of the various confessions is a necessary condition for all progress, and it has, therefore, been the aim of the German statesmen (out of five Chancellors, the third, Prince von Buelow, was a very devout Catholic and the wife of the fourth, Princess von Buelow, is one also) to secure to both confessions the utmost freedom and development and the greatest liberty for the exercise of their creed. The greatest noble families are Catholics. The Grand-Marshal at the Court of the

Empire, Prince Fuerstenberg, is a Catholic; so are the Duke of Arenberg, Salem and Croy, and others too numerous to mention.

So ever since Prince Bismarck in 1878 made a permanent settlement with the Holy See, there has always been a perfect equality between the two confessions, and absolute freedom for the practice of their devotion and a perfect obliteration of all confessional lines as far as the government of the country is concerned. In Germany nobody is asked what his confession is, no discrimination of any kind is made, and there is no country in the world, on the confession of Catholics of all nations, that is more friendly and more impartial than Germany. How could it be otherwise? In the Bavarian Ministry of nine members just one Protestant holds a post, and the Prime Minister has been the acknowledged leader of the Centre Party for twenty years. I state this because of the many statements that have been made that the German army has especially wrought destruction to Catholic convents, churches, schools and to the clergy, and because accusations of this nature have been made to perverters of public opinion in America against my Bavarian countrymen.

Now, as I said before, Bavarians are mostly Catholics, and very devout ones too, and the invention of such stories show at the same time their utter falsity as well as the amazing ignorance of those who pretend to elucidate the American public.

All those stories can be dismissed, on the evidence presented, as absolutely worthless, and they simply

prove that the effort to revile Germany in any possible way does not stop at the falsest inventions.

AN ATROCITY FABLE

The following story, an absolute "fake," appeared in numerous newspapers throughout Ireland January 9, 1915:

IRISH NUNS AT YPRES

HOW THE BRITISH ARRIVED

The *Weekly Dispatch* of Sunday published the story of Dame Theresa Howard, O.S.B., a niece of Mr. John Redmond, who went through the siege of Ypres with fourteen other Irish nuns at the Royal Benedictine Abbey at Ypres. The nuns are now safely lodged in Oulton Abbey, Staffordshire.

The following are extracts from the diary of Dame Theresa:—"Oh, last night, it was awful. For a long time the guns went on, but in the darkness they approached and entered—the Uhlans are upon us.

"It is all over with Ypres; the guns we heard all yesterday were the last defence of the Belgian Army—or rather police—and they were only a hundred against fifteen hundred. They are all over the town, and the Burgomaster is a prisoner. What is going to happen?

"The German occupation was becoming more and more terrible. Every day brought fresh atrocities, and every moment we thought we were to be the next victims, and we would hide in the cellars for fear they

should see us in the convent garden or at the windows.

"We were actually engaged in the Litanies with the words, 'From all evil, good Lord deliver us,' etc., each Sister joining in the responses, 'Good Lord, deliver us,' with a full soul, when we suddenly heard the heavy tramp, tramp of soldiers, and the sound of singing. We trembled, thinking of the terrible Uhlans, answering 'God Lord, deliver us,' in their midnight carouse, but judge of our surprise and amazement when we found out that it was an English song mingled with our cries of supplication, came, as it were, in answer, 'Here we are, here we are, here we are, again.' We almost joined in, but, of course, we dare not. But imagine the thrill of joy that went through our hearts. Then outside in the streets we heard the clamors of the populace joining in with 'Alo, alo,' and cries of joy. We were just wondering in our Irish hearts whether or not it was an Irish regiment that was the first to enter, thinking of the dear old standard with the harp on it, of the days of the Irish Brigade. Suddenly we got our answer. In gruff brogue we heard the song which everyone seems to be singing everywhere, 'It's a long way to Tipperary, it's a long way to go.'

"The British have come to stop.

"The battle is raging again. Can Ypres fall again? Wednesday, 28th October—The German shells fell on the town to-day. The first fell in the sleepy moat just outside the ramparts. We have now to live in our catacombs; even the sanctuary lamp is out, and the chapel no longer contains the Blessed Sacrament.

"It was no longer possible to stop in Ypres, and so we determined to get under the English authorities as soon as possible. We each had our little parcel. Everything is in ruins."

The Bavarian regiments, ninety-eight per cent. Catholics, accompanied by priests, were stationed near the Royal Benedictine Abbey near Ypres. The closest official investigation on the part of the archbishop of Cologne confirms the claim of the German authorities to the effect that no nun was harmed, all were treated respectfully by these really devout Bavarians, who escorted the Sisters to places of safety. Fancy pious Sister Theresa, the good niece of John Redmond, supplicating to English soldiers and being saved by them from the Bavarian Catholic barbarians, and the dear nuns listening to the White Way district London cockney song of "Tipperary" as a saving melody instead of "Adeste Fidelis." It is enough to make one laugh were it not for the horrible use in Ireland to which this outrageous story will be put.

On Sunday, February 7, 1915, Cardinal Von Hartman, of Cologne, addressing a vast meeting of Catholics in the great Cathedral of Cologne, said:

The Emperor William is the foremost defender of Christianity. Throughout the world we no longer know parties. In the words of the Emperor, "we know only Germans." That sentiment finds an unanimous echo among all Germans and our children wherever found in all sections of the world. Our people are as one. We are making headway in the West and successfully resisting invasion in the East, and God will never permit atheistic France, nor orthodox Russia, nor jealous England to destroy the religious life of the Fatherland. We place our faith in this just cause. We pledge to our noble empire the intrepid support and unfaltering allegiance of the 26,000,000 Catholic subjects of the German Empire, and we contrast the love, regard and tolerance of the Emperor for our people during the past twenty-six years of his reign with the persecutions of the Christians in France and the Jews in Russia. May the Ruler of Battles, to whom we faithfully pray, continue to bring victories to the brave armies of our soldiers!

CHAPTER XV

RECRUITING THE IRISH NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS

IRELAND, having inherited nothing from England except sorrow and misery, is always asked to furnish her best blood for her exploiters whenever their empire is in danger. The Romans, too, placed their slaves in the front of the line. Sixty years ago the Irish were forced into the British war against Russia, and thousands of them perished in Crimea. The patriots of that day protested, as they do to-day. Irish leaders then forced the poor peasants, after the famine, to lay down their lives for England in return for broken promises, in the same way and by the same methods that the present leaders are forcing the peasants to-day to die for a country which has only wronged them.

The following street ballad of the Crimean war period, written by Charles J. Kickham for the purpose of discouraging enlistments, fits the present-day situation:

PATRICK SHEEHAN

My name is Patrick Sheehan,
My years are thirty-four,
Tipperary is my native place,
Nor far from Galtymore;
I came of honest parents,
But now they're lying low,
And many a pleasant day I spent
In the glen of Aherlow.

My father died: I closed his eyes
Outside our cabin door;
The landlord and the sheriff, too,
Were there the day before;
And there my loving mother
And sisters three also
Were forced to go with broken hearts
From the glen of Aherlow.

For three long months in search of work
I wandered far and near;
I went then to the poor-house
For to see my mother dear;
The news I heard nigh broke my heart;
But still, in all my woe,
I blessed the friends who made their graves
In the glen of Aherlow.

Bereft of home and kith and kin,
With plenty all around,
I starved within my cabin,
And slept upon the ground.

But cruel as my lot was,
I ne'er did hardship know,
Till I joined the English army,
Far away from Aherlow.

"Rouse up, there," says the corporal,
"You lazy Hirish 'ound!
Why don't you hear, you sleepy dog,
The call to arms sound!"
Alas! I had been dreaming
Of days long, long ago;
I woke before Sebastopol,
And not in Aherlow.

I groped to find my musket,
How dark I thought the night!
O, blessed God! it was not dark,
It was the broad daylight.
And when I found that I was blind,
My tears began to flow:
I longed for even a pauper's grave
In the glen of Aherlow.

O blessed Virgin Mary,
Mine is a mournful tale:
A poor blind prisoner here I am,
In Dublin's dreary jail,
Struck blind within the trenches,
Where I never feared the foe;
And now I'll never see again
The glen of Aherlow.

A poor neglected mendicant,
I wandered through the street;
My nine months' pension now being out,
I beg from all I meet.
As I joined my country's tyrants,
My face I'll never show
Among the kind old neighbors
In the glen of Aherlow.

Then Irish youths, dear countrymen!
Take heed of what I say:
For if you join the English ranks
You'll surely rue the day.
And whenever you are tempted
A soldiering to go,
Remember poor blind Sheehan
Of the glen of Aherlow.

The Irish National Volunteers, organized to defend the cause of national Ireland, numbered, before the war, perhaps, 160,000 young men, the best physically and mentally in Ireland. They were organized in battalions, regiments and companies, drilled frequently, often at night, and went to camp. They formed the body in the British Islands out of which real soldiers can be most quickly made. It was to them that the heads of the army turned eagerly, and it was to them that Mr. Redmond made his frantic and unpatriotic

appeal on behalf of the British army. Mr. Redmond, until lately, refused to encourage or endorse the volunteers. In one year the body had grown into the most powerful and formidable organization in Ireland, and the old politicians trembled.

In the interest of unity and harmony, and lest the world would consider them factionists, rather than have new divisions in Ireland, and in order to present a solid front to the Orange Tories, Mr. Redmond was permitted to name one-half of the directorate and members of the executive board. Ten days before the outbreak of war the Scottish Borderers, a regiment of the King's troops, had fired on an unarmed crowd in a Dublin street; several men were killed and a number were injured. Ireland was in a ferment, civil war was threatened, and the leadership of Redmond likely to close in disaster. Then the great war of the world broke forth like the fury of hell and the more mercurial of the Irish were convinced that the "German barbarian hordes" were at their cabin doors. Thereupon, the official leader of the Irish Nationalist Party, on the floor of the House of Commons, pledged the Irish National Volunteers to defend the shores of Erin

from the oncoming Teutonic hordes. To some extent the prestige of Mr. Redmond was restored. Many Celts believed his proposition to the government sounded fair and reasonable, and supported his declaration. The Volunteers figured the move as one certain to bring to them necessary arms. Then followed the unexpected appearance of the Irish leader demanding that the young men of Ireland, the volunteers, join the British army and die, not within their own shores, but in Belgium and in France, and under the colors of their oppressors. His best friends write over to this country privately and acknowledge his "fearful blunder," but argue that it is necessary "to save his face for the sake of the Home Rule Bill after the war," and adding that few of the Volunteers are recruiting anyway.

Mr. Redmond and his recruiting allies are working to overthrow the constitution of the Irish Volunteers, which reads:

1. To secure and maintain the rights and liberties of all the people of Ireland.

2. To train, discipline and equip for this purpose an Irish volunteer force.

3. To unite in the service of Ireland the men of every creed, party and class.

No funds would have been sent from this side except for the principles outlined above. Despite all the appeals of Mr. Redmond, the complete machinery of the Irish Parliamentary Party, the power of the government, the promise of Home Rule, a vast recruiting and agitation fund, dire poverty and distress increased by the war, unemployment, lying stories of German brutalities, not one company, regiment or battalion has voted to recruit or enlist in the army. A few thousand individuals have been secured, but the appeal has altogether failed, as admitted by the London press.*

As the *London Times* has admitted, the whole of Ireland is under martial law. The censorship is rigid. The patriotic newspapers are being suppressed by the government, including *The Irish Volunteer,* the organ of the National Volunteers. The weekly journal, *Sinn Fein* ("Ourselves Alone"), and other papers have been destroyed. *The Irish World* of New York, with a large list of readers in Ireland, has been prohibited from

*The *Belfast News* of January 14, 1915, which is the leading Ulster daily newspaper, jeeringly says that Nationalist Ireland has not furnished up to this date more than from 3,000 to 4,000 recruits, despite the fervent appeals of the Irish members of parliament.

entering Ireland. A number of persons have been sent to prison for distributing patriotic letters and pamphlets. Many of the Irish National Volunteer companies have changed their meeting places, and in secret are pledging eternal fealty to the cause of Irish freedom. More than 70,000 men have met within a month, and, by resolution, have bound themselves to abide by the following declaration of policy hereafter:

1. To maintain the right and duty of the Irish nation henceforward and to provide for its own defence by means of a permanent armed and trained volunteer force.

2. To unite the people of Ireland on the bases of Irish nationality and a common national interest; to maintain the integrity of the nation and to resist with all our strength any measures tending to bring about or perpetuate disunion or the partition of our country.

3. To resist any attempt to force the men of Ireland into military service under any government until a free national government is empowered by the Irish people themselves to deal with it.

4. To secure the abolition of the system of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle and the

British military power, and the establishment of a national government in its place.

The Volunteers never sing the words of the English music-hall song, "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." The air is a fair marching tune, but the words and sentiment are un-Irish. Songs of Piccadilly and Leicester Square do not appeal to the hearts of Irish mothers. They know, if the children recruit, not only will the road to Tipperary be mighty long from Europe, but that most of their sons, their sole support, will never live to see Tipperary again.

"TIPPERARY"

Who is it stands in front of the door?
Mary O'Fay, Mother O'Fay.
An' what is she watching an' waiting for?
Och, none but her soul can say.

There's a list in the post office long and black,
With tidings bad and woeful sad;
The names of the boys who'll ne'er come back,
An' one is her darling lad.

We showed her the list: but she cannot read,
So we told her true, yes, we told her true,
Her old eyes stared till they'd almost bleed,
An' she swore that none of us knew.

She's waiting now for Father O'Toole,
  Till he goes her way at the noon of day.

* * * *

Who is it sprawls upon the sod
  At the break o' day? It's Mickey O'Fay.
His eyes glare up to the walls of God,
  And half of his head is blown away.

What is he doing in that strange place,
  Torn and shred, and murdered dead?
He's singin' the psalm of the fighting race
  And his soul soars wide o'erhead.

Who shall we blame for the awful thing—
  For the blood that flows and the heart-wrung throes?
Kaiser, or Czar, statesmen or King,
  Och, leave it to Him Who knows!

The Irish National Volunteers have before them the glorious example of the Volunteers of 1782, who achieved the legislative independence of Ireland. They first organized in the Protestant Church of Dungannon, County Tyrone, all or nearly all Protestants. They demanded liberty for Ireland. England was being defeated by America in the war of the Revolution, and dreaded another insurrection in Ireland. She finally yielded, and on the 16th day of April, 1782,

Henry Grattan moved the declaration of rights, which made Ireland free and prosperous for a brief period of twenty years, when the infamous act of union with England was formed.*

Grattan's amendment for legislative independence, as adopted, follows:

That the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind the nation, but the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, nor any parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatever in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland: to assure His Majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberty exists, a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

After England was forced to capitulate to the United States, two years after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, she proceeded to quarrel with Ireland. Content seemed to reign in that country. As year by year her commerce gained

*Even under the Union the legal and constitutional title of the British kingdoms is "The Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." This title should be given on all official documents. But as time goes on the kingdom of Ireland is left more and more in the background.

and her industries throve, the spirit of English trade jealousies was enkindled and the speedy ruin of Irish commerce was resolved on. England played Ireland false as soon as the Volunteers laid down their arms. Grattan trusted the word of England on the terms of the final adjustment. The history of this sordid and wretched betrayal of the national agreement is confirmed by all historians, including Gladstone and Morley. Eighty thousand soldiers were let loose on an unarmed and helpless people to destroy them at will. Our American correspondents, without exception, returning from Belgium, have told us that the stories of German atrocities are false. But the story of English atrocities in Ireland in 1796 are confirmed by all historians.

I quote from one of the most careful authorities, A. M. Sullivan:

Irresponsible power was conferred on the military officers and local magistracy. The yeomanry, mainly composed of Orangemen, were quartered on the most Catholic districts, while the Irish militia regiments suspected of any sympathy with the population were shipped off to England in exchange for foreign troops. The military tribunals did not wait for the idle formalities of the civil courts. Soldiers and civilians, yeomen and townsmen, against whom the informer

pointed his finger, were taken out and summarily executed. Ghastly forms hung upon the thickset gibbets, not only in the market places of the country towns and before the public prisons, but on all the bridges of the metropolis. The horrid torture of picketing, and the blood-stained lash, were constantly resorted to, to "extort accusations or confessions." Lord Holland gives us a like picture of "burning cottages, tortured backs, and frequent executions." "The fact is incontrovertible," he says, "that the people of Ireland were driven to resistance (which, possibly, they meditated before) by the free quarters and excesses of the soldiery, which were such as are not permitted in civilized warfare even in an enemy's country. Dr. Dickson, Lord Bishop of Down, assured me that he had seen families returning peaceably from Mass assailed without provocation by drunken troops and yeomanry, and their wives and daughters exposed to every species of indignity, brutality, and outrage, from which neither his (the bishop's) remonstrances, nor those of other Protestant gentlemen, could rescue them.

No wonder the gallant and humane Sir John Moore —appalled at the infamies of that lustful and brutal soldiery, and unable to repress his sympathy with the hapless Irish peasantry—should have exclaimed, "If I were an Irishman, I would be a rebel!"

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CASUALTY LISTS

In Ireland the poor people are waking up to

the fact that the British, now, as always, put the Irish in the forefront. Although they form a small percentage of the army, as well as of the British population, the daily mortality rate among the Irish troops on the battlefield reaches an abnormally high proportion.

The *London Times* publishes daily a list of the killed and wounded, the preponderating names being Irish. We have before us a copy of the *London Times* of Friday, January 8, 1915, which gives a list of the killed and wounded reported in one day.

IN THE RANKS

The following casualties among non-commissioned officers and men of the expeditionary force are reported from the base. Every man is a private unless otherwise described:

UNDER DATE OF NOVEMBER 24.
KILLED.

ROYAL SCOTS FUSILIERS.

Ashcroft, 10701 J.
Beattie, 10816 J.
Bruce, 10057 Drmmr T.
Clark, 10809 Cpl. D.
Coll. 9055 D.
Collins, 6558 C.
Connor, 9419 L.
Doran, 9708 W.
Drysdale, 10924 S.
Gillet, 7199 A.
Givens, 6247 T.
Graham, 9789 P.
Hacker, 10879 A.
Hagan, 10274 H.
Harris, 10504 A.
Harris, 11040 F.
Hendry, 9942 J.
Hooton, 9137 Lce.-Cpl. W.
Hughes, 10760 T.
Johnston, 9276 J.

Johnstone, 10799 E.
Keatley, 10489 H.
King, 9946 T.
Laird, 9861 J.
Lawrence, 8676 A.
Lindop, 10692 G.
Lunn, 9711 A.
Lunn, 9208 T.
MacGuinness, 10403 J.
McAuliffe, 9331 J.
McBride, 10128 J.
McCartney, 5753 R.
McLaughlin, 9943 J.
Mallon, 9796 R.
Mayhew, 9411 Bndsmn. E.
Miles, 8332 Lce.-Cpl. T.
Mills, 8071 Lce.-Sergt. F.
Minter, 9751 W.
Monger, 10648 J.
Mooney, 9814 J.
Morgan, 10683 F.
Nelson, 5776 Sergt. J.
Oglivie, 10282 W.
Page, 10722 D.
Parsons, 10170 C.
Provis, 9291 W.
Roper, 10678 A. V.
Shearman, 9233 H.
Smith, 10313 W.
Stringer, 6420 Sergt. H.
Taylor, 8864 Lce.-Sergt. R.
Watson, 10025 Cpl. W.
White, 10229 Cpl. H.
Wilson, 8698 J.
Wood, 10391 H.
Woodfield, 5243 Co. Qrmr. Sergt. T.

KING'S OWN SCOTTISH BORDERERS.

Boath, 8958 F.
Brown, 7609 J.
Cairns, 11333 J.
Carty, 10048 J.
Cook, 8394 H.
Dawson, 8149 W.
Elliott, 9127 A.
Goodman, 11174 W.
Keegan, 5853 Corp. W.
Nelson, 5840 Lce.-Corp. J.
Norton, 11889 C.
Smith, 7420 D.
Smy, 9417 Lce.-Corp. F.
Turner, 11647 B.
Urch, 10456 R.

SEAFORTH HIGHLANDERS.

Black, 8667 Lce.-Cpl. J.
Campbell, 9470 T.
Devlin, 8128 J.
Docherty, 6871 J.
Findlay, 6960 J.
Hambly, 6240 C.
Hislop, 6643 G.
Irving, 6481 J.
Kirkwood, 6785 J.
MacAulay, 6893 J.
McKinnon, 6369 N.
Mackie, 7150 A.
Matheson, 676 Drumr. R.
O'Brien, 8662 J.
Park, 8115 W.
Reid, 9349 Lce.-Sergt. D.
Robertson, 7594 J.
Ross, 6428 D.
Salmond, 7882 C.
Solers, 10597 J.
Thomas, 6899 J.
Thompson, 9759 J.
Walls, 1461 A.

OTHER REGIMENTS.

Brooke, 6506 Sergt. W., Royal Engineers.
Byrne, 4108 G., Irish Guards.
Gould, 28767 Corporal J. D., Royal Engineers.

DIED OF WOUNDS.

Campbell, 6460 T., Royal Scots Fus.
Chambers, 5578 Col.-Sergt. P., Royal Scots Fus.
Couper, 9128 W., Coldstream Guards.
Dix, 2537 Trpr. J., 6th Dragoons (attached 1st Life Gds.).
Drumm, 2667 F., Irish Guards.
Grahame, 62588 Gunr. A. G., Royal Field Artillery.
Hanley, 6741 H., Scots Guards.
Harrison, 6745 H. J., Coldstream Gds.
Henson, 6067 Lce.-Corpl. T. G., 4th Dragoon Gds.
Innes, 9732 W., Gordon Highrs.
Kean, 8789 C., Scots Guards.
MacIntyre, 10501 Lce.-Corpl. R., Royal Scots Fus.
McCormack, 4094 J., Irish Guards.
McDonagh, 3310 J., Irish Guards.
North, 5759 Trpr. T. W., 1st Dragoon Gds. (attached 1st Life Guards).
Pumphrey, 2265 J. R., Northd Hussars.
Randell, 7926 H., Scots Guards.
Riordan, 3728 J., Irish Guards.

Killed In One Day

Irish Names	42
All Others	77

CHAPTER XVI

THE WOMEN OF IRELAND

IN MANY parts of Ireland there is only one male left to a family. The mothers of Ireland are opposed to losing the last boy for England. Delegations of noble women from Ireland have come to America appealing to their countrywomen to write letters to Irish families urging them to refuse their children for the slaughter. They dare not take the platform in Ireland any longer or use the Irish newspapers, as the country is under martial law and any open effort to prevent recruiting is punishable as an act of treason to the Crown.

These women have been holding meetings in New York and various cities, largely attended by earnest, intelligent, refined women of Irish extraction. In pathetic interest, education and entertainment these weekly gatherings are unique and novel even in jaded New York, but the careless or hostile press gives them no attention.

One of these many meetings of women was held the other night in the Blue Room of the Hotel

SARAH CURRAN

FIANCÉE OF ROBERT EMMET

"She is far from the land where her young hero sleeps,
And lovers around her are sighing,
But coldly she turns from their gaze and weeps,
For her heart in his grave is lying."

—THOMAS MOORE.

McAlpin, with three well-known New York women in charge—Dr. Gertrude Kelly, Mary Atwood Tabor and Dr. Madge McGuinnis. Emily Gray gave selections on an Irish harp. One of the speakers was the venerable Margaret Moore, who went to prison with Parnell in 1879. The old lady preserves a wonderful, clear mind, and her speech was accorded a great reception. She said:

You have been told that I stand here to-night to represent the past. It is not a dead past, however. It is full of inspiration, hope and encouragement, which we now hope to see grow stronger and greater in the dawn of a new day of freedom for Ireland.

Women always came to the rescue in Ireland when Ireland needed them. When the Milesians came to Ireland, Queen Scotia and her three daughters fought in the field. She fell in battle; and from that time on there never has been a day when women were not ready and willing to strike for Ireland's cause. The women of Limerick took their place beside the men. Then came another day of spirit for Ireland.

The Land League came. At first the Land League was scoffed at. Then the government became uneasy about its power. Then they passed the Coercion Act. Then some of the leaders were taken up. It was in these days that Michael Davitt could not bear to see her work go down in destruction. He could not bear

to see the flag of freedom go down in the dust and be trampled on by its enemies. He knew how brave his mother was in the days of eviction. He remembered the bravery of the women of the Fenian days. And he called on the women of Ireland to come forward in Ireland's danger.

Since I was a baby I was interested in everything for the welfare of my native land.

In those days stones were thrown at us, not by us. We did not mind that; they did us no harm. The Land League grew apace. One can hardly understand how the dead hearts of the people seemed to revive as they knew that the women were standing behind the men, and the men could not turn back on the onward march because of the women who stood behind them. I had believed that Ireland's chains, rusted by the blood and tears of centuries, were in such a condition that even a woman's weak hands could break them asunder.

Then Mr. Parnell came. I would like to make a personal remark here. While some newspapers spoke of me as going to jail for rioting, I never was in a riot. I never threw a stone in my life. I went to jail for attempting to "excite disaffection in the hearts of Her Majesty's subjects."

The women did their work gloriously. We worked so well and so strong that we were able to bring about the downfall of the Chief Secretary for Ireland—Buckshot Forster.

We have seen strange changes in Ireland since those days. We women did not give up the fight. The

men came forward when they got out of jail and they took the banner from us, and they did not even thank us for holding it for them.

To-day we are facing a greater crisis than ever. Ireland must keep her men at home, and every Irishman and Irishwoman in this country and in Ireland should be aware of the many reasons why Ireland should never fight for England. There has been more blood shed by England and for England than would buy freedom for the whole of Europe. That day must end. If Irish blood is shed it must be shed for Ireland only. Men calling themselves Irishmen will dare to come forward and ask the youth of Ireland to join and become corrupted by the most immoral army in Europe.

Referring to Lord Roberts, Mrs. Moore said:

I am glad they did not put him in Westminster Abbey. That place is desecrated enough as it is. This Christian for whom they played "Onward, Christian Soldiers"—he in a letter to the departments of India demanded with authority that they should see to it that a certain number of attractive healthy women should be provided for the entertainment of the soldiers.

Are Irishwomen to let their sons go into any army where their morals will be destroyed? We are very proud of Irishmen who refuse to go forth to fight in this war. Even if they are unemployed they will know it is better to starve at home.

We know that before this war began Roberts went to King George and whispered in his ear, "Don't sign that Home Rule Bill or the army will revolt." Then came French and others, and they said, "We will not lead troops against the North." And a few days afterward they wanted the very men they threatened to fight for "their King and country." I deny that the Irish have a king. They have a country only, and let them look to that. Let them keep their country free and keep her in the proper place. Let them not forget their history. Let them not forget their ruins.

Let us hold up the hands of our sisters in Ireland. Let us hold up the hands of the men in Ireland. And with God's help we will try to help them. We want freedom for the land that bore us.

Mrs. Padraig Colum of Dublin read a speech dealing in a comprehensive way with the state of things in Ireland, and the Irish volunteer movement.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE

"The connection between Great Britain and Ireland is the curse of the Irish nation, while it lasts my country cannot be free nor happy. Success in the eyes of the vulgar, fixes its merits. Washington succeeded, while Kosciusko failed. I await the Death which awaits me."

CHAPTER XVII

LEADERS OF IRELAND

THE little island across the sea has produced more than her share of heroes, patriots, poets, dramatists, statesmen and soldiers, and by the same token she has managed to furnish an unusual number of weak leaders, traitors and informers. For every Irishman sent to the scaffold or the dungeon, there has been another to swear his life away. It was the bribery and the weakness of some of the Irish princes which enabled the Anglo-Normans to extend their sway over large portions of Ireland in the twelfth century. In the next six hundred years of her history we find the work of martyrs and patriots checked or destroyed by treason in her own ranks. The life of Robert Emmet might have been saved but for the wretched informer who spied on his last meeting with the beautiful Sarah Curran. The United Irishmen Society was struck a fatal blow in 1798 by the treachery of one of its members, Thomas Reynolds, which caused the death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. This rebellion was watched by

George Washington from America with the deepest interest and sympathy, as some of his friends in the American revolution were participants, and he was grieved at Mount Vernon, the last year of his life, when he heard of the failure of the revolution of 1798. Lord Cornwallis, whom Washington had taken prisoner at Yorktown, was the English commander who crushed the men of '98. The hero was Wolfe Tone, who, captured after heroic defence, begged that he be shot like a soldier, not hanged as a felon. His petition was rejected and he was said to have committed suicide, although some writers insist that he was murdered by his jailers, who feared openly to kill, except as a soldier, a man who was captured in the uniform of a French colonel.

The Act of Union 1802 between Great Britain and Ireland was forced through by shameless bribery and promises of office. Lord Castlereagh purchased twenty-five Irish members of Parliament, the necessary number to pass the measure. The two men who betrayed their unfortunate country to England were Lord Castlereagh and Lord Clare. The first died by his own hand, the second, bitterly regretting his infamy, died of a broken heart.

Lord Byron, the great poet, when he heard the fate of Castlereagh, wrote:

"So Castlereagh has cut his throat! The worst
Of this is—that he cut his country's the first!
So he has cut his throat at last! He! Who?
The man who cut his country's long ago."

Fourteen new government places were created for Irish members. Thirty-two new peers were created, every one being an Irish member of the House of Commons who had voted for the Act of Union. Something like $2,500,000 was spent in bribery by the Crown agents. The salaried places given to deserting opposition members amounted to $340,000 per annum. Sixty-one titles were granted. Of the 162 men who voted for the union, 116 held government places by 1803, and 34 bought fine estates.

After the Young Irelanders were driven to death or prisons in 1848, the leaders were John Sadlier of Tipperary and William Keogh of Athlone. The first was a banker, the second a lawyer. The two led the Catholic defense movement and were alluded to sarcastically by the English papers as the "Pope's Brass Band." The pair were strict Constitutionalists, viewed with suspicion by the crushed remnants of the revolu-

tion, but as reactions always follow revolutions, the patriots could only look on. The issue of the hour was the Tenant Rights Bill and opposition to the British Government. Sadlier, Keogh and O'Flaherty held the balance of power. The fate of a new ministry was in their hands when terrible news arrived from London in 1852 that the Irish brigade in Parliament had sold their country for the jobs. John Sadlier was Lord of the Treasury, William Keogh was made Irish Solicitor-General, and Edmond O'Flaherty was appointed Commissioner of Income Tax. The argosy containing patriotic hopes was wrecked. As time went on the Irish drew away from Sadlier in horror. Confidence in his banks was destroyed, and in the dead of the night he walked out of his English town house. Early in the morning passers-by noticed a body lying on Hampstead Heath. John Sadlier had taken poison and died by his own hand. The news created a frightful panic in Ireland. Mobs of country people stormed the Sadlier banks, only to learn they had lost their all. Even the poor guardian funds were gone.

England in Ireland, as everywhere else that her misrule has gone, has depended upon gold to

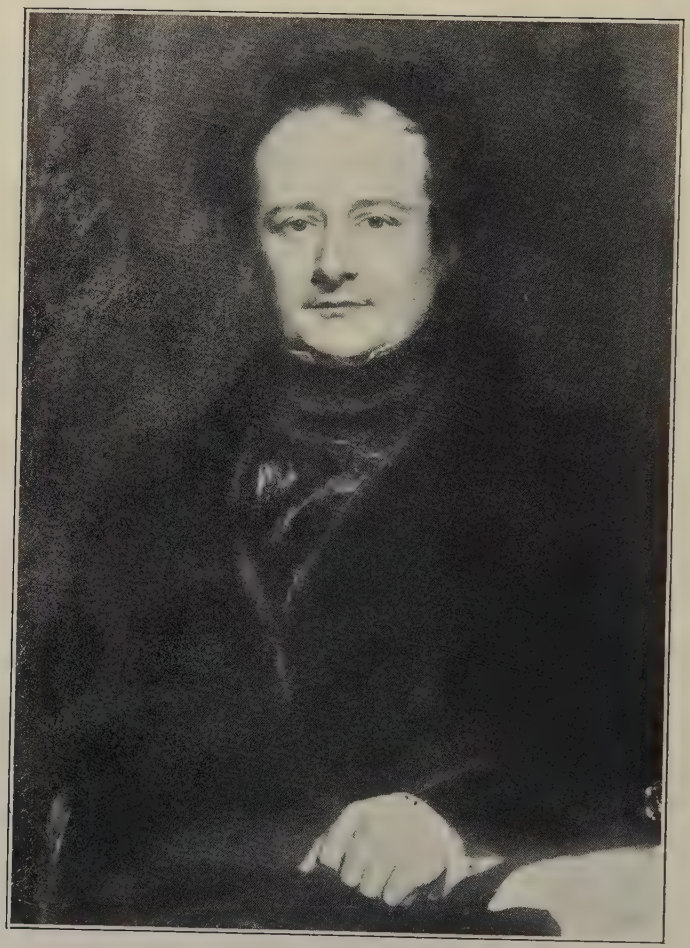
sustain her power. Wherever she can find a Benedict Arnold, a Castlereagh, a James Carey, she has poured out her gold like water in order to get men to betray the cause of their country and to introduce dissension and distrust into the ranks of those who oppose her. Her motto always has been—like that of Rome—*Divide et impera,* and signs multiply both in Ireland and America that she is at her old game among the needy, the unscrupulous and the envious ones of the race, to make them misrepresent real conditions and induce their too trustful countrymen to forgive the past and come to her assistance in this hour of dreadful danger. But she has played the game once too often, and even the timid and weak men who were tacitly or openly on her side because of her supposed invincibility are now awakening to a full realization of her real weakness, and contempt and dislike are now rapidly replacing the dread which they had for her at the outbreak of this war. The extraordinary achievements of the German Navy—the *Hogue, Cressy, Aboukir* incidents, the sinking of the *Audacious* on the Irish coast and of the *Formidable* in the English Channel—have destroyed the prestige of the English Navy and made Irishmen realize that the in-

vasion both of England and Ireland are reasonable probabilities, and in view of such a contingency the appeals of Redmond and his allies to young Irishmen to go with the English army or navy are falling on deaf ears.*

*Mr. Bourassa Refused a Hearing—Meeting at Ottawa Broken Up (Toronto, December 17).—A meeting at Ottawa, which was to have been addressed by Mr. Henri Bourassa, the leader of the Nationalist movement in Quebec, was broken up under dramatic conditions. There was constant interruption from two or three hundred members of the Sons of England Lodges and other elements of the audience. They demanded that he should wave the Union Jack, but Mr. Bourassa, who preserved his good temper throughout, said: "I am a British subject, but I will not wave the British flag under compulsion."

As he remained obdurate the crowd invaded the platform and the curtain was rung down. For several hours hundreds remained in the theatre singing patriotic songs and cheering.

Later Mr. Bourassa read his speech to a small company at the Chateau Laurier. His chief argument was that the first duty of Canada was to itself, and the principle of autonomy and the rights of minorities were not contrary to the idea of the British connection.—*From our own correspondent.*



DANIEL O'CONNELL

"THE GREAT LIBERATOR"

CHAPTER XVIII

YOUNG IRELAND OF 1848

THE men of '48! The brief and ill-starred revolution in Ireland in the year 1848 developed a galaxy of young men and women of genius, equalled, perhaps, though not surpassed, by the heroic and brilliant Girondists. The daring deeds of revolution is always the work of youth. That the Ireland of to-day seems to lack the spirit of active patriotism may be ascribed to the preponderance of the aged among her declining population. The proportion of old people, applying for age pensions, startled the pension officials, and an investigation showed that Ireland had more old people and fewer young men, in proportion, than any country in the world. Her present political leaders are nearly all old men.

Daniel O'Connell is believed to have been the most powerful and effective orator of the last century. The late Mr. Gladstone and other authorities agree that no man of modern times affected so many persons through the art of public speaking. The writer has stood on the an-

cient Hill of Tara, where O'Connell once spoke to 200,000 people, the largest audience on record, and Lord Byron said his words could be heard distinctly on the farthermost edge of the crowd. Wendell Phillips, America's famous platform orator, visited the House of Commons to study the method of O'Connell's oratory. Afterward Mr. Phillips said, "this is the man, there are the lips, the most wonderful to speak the English tongue." To this day you see Irish pilgrims from all parts of the world visiting the mausoleum in Glasnevin to place their hands on his coffin. He won religious liberty for his country. And he rested. History is merely a record of change, and no leader of the people can afford to stand still. Young Ireland demanded political, as well as religious, freedom. The veteran was amazed that any one in Ireland should question his leadership. His pride and prestige seemed hurt. He denounced the young men and women of the new party as firebrands and ungrateful fanatics. He constantly kept telling them that his conservative policies would bear fruit; they must wait. But he failed to see that the new generation was slipping away from him, determined to challenge his supremacy. The brave old lion was tired and

needed a rest, and he should have given up the leadership. The fate of revolutionists who rest is certain. Danton, tired and weary, went to the country, while Robespierre took advantage of his absence from the conflict and sent him to the scaffold. Revolutions wait not on the old or the weary.

And then crashing down on unfortunate Ireland like a wild whirlwind of horror and destruction in the seasons of 1846-47, came the frightful famine. The neglect of Ireland, the woes of centuries, the maladministration of her conquerors, the failure of the government to cope with the wretched conditions, bureaucratic delays, brought on in the fog and blackness of the night the most terrible fate that can befall a people—starvation. O'Connell broke under the frightful strain. He had lived too long, because he had lived to see the destruction of his country. He went to Italy and died at Genoa on the 15th of May, 1847.

One day in 1842 three young men were walking in Phœnix Park, Dublin. They were Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. They decided on an independent policy, and they founded a newspaper, *The Na-*

tion. This journal finally became the guide and counsellor of the young men of Ireland. From this band of young men and women, working on that paper, burst forth a new Irish poetry and literature, which has been translated into many languages and is still preserved in every library and will live for centuries. They were the first to break down the antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics. Thomas Davis was a Protestant in religion, and he wrote:

What matter that at different shrines
We pray unto one God?
What matter that at different times
Our fathers won this sod?

In fortune and in name we're bound
By stronger links than steel;
And neither can be safe or sound
But in the other's weal.

And oh, it were a gallant deed
To show before mankind
How every race and every creed
Might be by love combined—

They struggled to improve the tone of Irish life. They denounced the taking of office by patriots, on the ground that once a man gets on a British Government payroll he loses interest in the cause of Ireland.

Glorious are the names of the young Irelanders. They were sentenced to convict colonies, and yet they lived to become leaders of public opinion throughout the world. Duffy rose to be prime minister of Australia; McGee became a cabinet minister of railways in Canada; Meagher, the great orator, commanded the American Irish Brigade of the Civil War, and died as governor of Montana. Richard O'Gorman died the foremost member of the New York Bar. Kevin O'Doherty was leader of the Queensland legislature. Richard Dalton Williams, the poet, died a distinguished physician at New Orleans. The small band of revolutionists produced three great literary women—Eva Mary Kelly, Lady Wilde and Ellen Downing. The literary works of John K. Ingram, James Clarence Mangin, Samuel Ferguson, Denis Florence MacCarthy make priceless the literature of the Young Ireland movement. William Smith O'Brien, a Protestant, was the active leader. In 1843 he announced, after serving fourteen years in the British Parliament, that England was the enemy of his country and there was no hope for Ireland in the union as it existed between Ireland and Great Britain.

The first man, since Robert Emmet, to advo-

cate physical resistance in Ireland, was one of the '48 men, John Mitchel, the grandfather of Mayor Mitchel of New York. He was the son of an Unitarian minister in an Ulster county. The government passed through Parliament a law designed to make the speeches of Mitchel and others treasonable. John Mitchel was arrested on the 22d day of May, 1848, and found guilty in two days. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation to the convict colonies across the seas while twelve thousand government troops surrounded the court house to prevent a contemplated rescue. When asked by the Court if he had anything to say, he replied: "My lords, I knew I was setting my life on that cast. The course which I have opened is only commenced. The Roman who saw his hand burning to ashes before the tyrant promised that three hundred should follow out his enterprise. Can I not promise for one—for two—for three—ay, for hundreds?" His friends in the courtroom cried out, "Promise for me, Mitchel! Promise for me!" Arms were drawn, the troops drove back the crowd. The prisoner was carried to the cells below. Early in the morning, heavily manacled, chains from his wrists to his ankles, he was car-

ried out to sea. The police destroyed the *Nation* office and arrested Duffy, then followed the arrest and conviction of the remaining leaders. O'Brien, Meagher, MacManus and O'Donohue were sentenced to be hanged, beheaded, disembowelled and quartered. The ferocity of the sentences affected callous England, and they were commuted to life-long imprisonment in the convict quarters of Australia, where the prisoners were transported July 29, 1849.

The speeches from the dock of these young Nationalists, sentenced to die, occupy an important place in the world's tragic literature. The circumstances under which they spoke never caused them to falter. They were about to die, but they were to die for Ireland. Not one failed or faltered, and their young voices ringing out in the courtroom have been heard all over the world. It is that spirit which tears the heartstrings of the sons of Irish emigrants the world over at the call of Redmond for Irish lives to save England. All the government jobs of the British Empire would not have moved the Young Irelanders of 1848 to recruit for England.

"The liberty of the world," said Daniel O'Con-

nell, facing the Young Ireland leaders, "is not worth the shedding of one drop of blood." Alas for the memory of O'Connell! If that doctrine were true, we citizens of America would have no imperishable memories other than as a colony of Great Britain. There would be no Washington's Birthday holiday, no Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, no immortal friend of freedom, of the poor and lowly, Abraham Lincoln. The glory of America, as of Ireland, rests with her patriots, heroes and republicans who dared face and contest, in the name of liberty, hostile majorities at home and abroad. The line between successful revolution and failure is extremely narrow. Not one out of a hundred succeeds. Success is followed by power, temporary gratitude, glory, honors, monuments; failure is followed by suffering, misery, ofttimes obloquy and death. The martyrdom of failure and revolution are twin brothers.

The sacrifices of the Young Irelanders made possible Parnell's movement, the various Land Acts and the right of the natives of Ireland to own the soil of their country. The writer believes that the writings of John Mitchel are the greatest force for the perpetuation of the

spirit of Irish freedom. From his cell in Newgate Prison he wrote to a friend: "For me, I abide my fate joyfully; for I know that, whatever betide me, my work is nearly done. Yes; moral force and 'patience and perseverance' are scattered to the wild winds of heaven. The music my countrymen now love best to hear is the rattle of arms and the ring of the rifle. As I sit here and write in my lonely cell, I hear, just dying away, the measured tramp of ten thousand marching men—my gallant confederates, unarmed and silent, but with hearts like bended bow, waiting till *the time* comes. They have marched past my prison windows to let me know there are ten thousand fighting men in Dublin—'felons' in heart and soul. I thank God for it. The game is afoot at last. The liberty of Ireland may come sooner or later, by peaceful negotiation or bloody conflict, but it is *sure;* and wherever between the poles I may chance to be, I will hear the crash of the downfall of the thrice-accursed British Empire."

Mitchel remained, undaunted in spirit, for seven years in the convict colony of Van Diemens Land. Conspirators in the United States effected his escape. He arrived safely in San Francisco,

California, October 12, 1853. He founded the *Daily Citizen* of New York, and moved to the South, where he was editor of the *Richmond Examiner,* and, strange to say, espoused the cause of the Southern Confederacy, two of his sons dying on the battlefields of the South. Mitchel was a private in the Southern army, was taken prisoner by the Federals, released through Irish friends, returned to New York in 1867, founded the *Irish Citizen,* was elected member of Parliament from Tipperary County, while in New York, returned to Ireland, and died shortly after.

John Martin was the friend of John Mitchel. He took up the cause of Mitchel and founded the *United Irishman.* The government destroyed his paper, and he established another, the *Irish Felon.* He was incarcerated in the dungeons of Newgate. From the depths of his underground cell, filled with slime and water, he wrote these words to the patriots of 1848:

"Let them menace you with the hulks or the gibbet for daring to speak or write of your love of Ireland. Let them threaten to mow you down with grape-shot, as they massacred your kinsmen with famine and plague. Spurn their brutal

acts of Parliament, trample upon their lying proclamations—fear them not!"

John Martin was found guilty of treason, and sentenced to Van Diemens Land, the convict colony. He said in court:

"My object is to assist in establishing the national independence of Ireland for the benefit of all the people of Ireland. National independence will prevent much of the pauperism, starvation and misery which prevails in Ireland."

On one of those stormy days of 1848, William Smith O'Brien said: "Irish freedom must be won by Irish courage. Ireland's problems can only be solved by a republic." O'Brien headed the revolution. A large reward was offered for his apprehension. His military following was finally reduced to hundreds. His little army destroyed, O'Brien fought with a handful in the mountains. At last he was captured and taken to Thurles. His trial lasted two short days, and he was sentenced to be hanged, beheaded and quartered. He was reprieved, sent to Maria's Island for life, where he was treated with great severity.

Through the aid of friends in Tasmania he nearly escaped. His health failing, he was trans-

ported to Port Arthur. His friends secured a pardon in 1854, and he returned to Ireland after an exile of eight years. He died in 1864, broken in health and spirits.

Of the Young Ireland leaders the name dearest to Americans is Thomas Francis Meagher. He won fame as a writer and orator at the early age of twenty-three. He was opposed to what has been termed O'Connell's doctrine of passive resistance. In speaking against this theory, he said: "I am not one of those tame moralists who say that liberty is not worth one drop of blood. Against this maxim the noblest virtue that has saved and sanctified humanity appears in judgment. From the blue waters of the Bay of Salamis; from the valley over which the sun stood still and lit the Israelites to victory; from the cathedral in which the sword of Poland has been sheathed in the shroud of Kosciusko; from the convent of St. Isadore, where the fiery hand that rent the ensign of St. George upon the Plains of Ulster has mouldered into dust; from the sands of the desert, where the wild genius of the Algerine so long has scared the eagle of the Pyrenees; from the ducal palace of this kingdom, where the memory of the gallant and seditious

Geraldine enhances, more than royal favor, the splendor of his race; from the solitary grave within this mute city which a dying bequest has left without an epitaph, oh! from every spot where heroism has had a sacrifice or liberty a triumph, a voice breaks in on the cringing crowd, that cherishes this wretched maxim, crying out, 'Away with it! away with it!' "

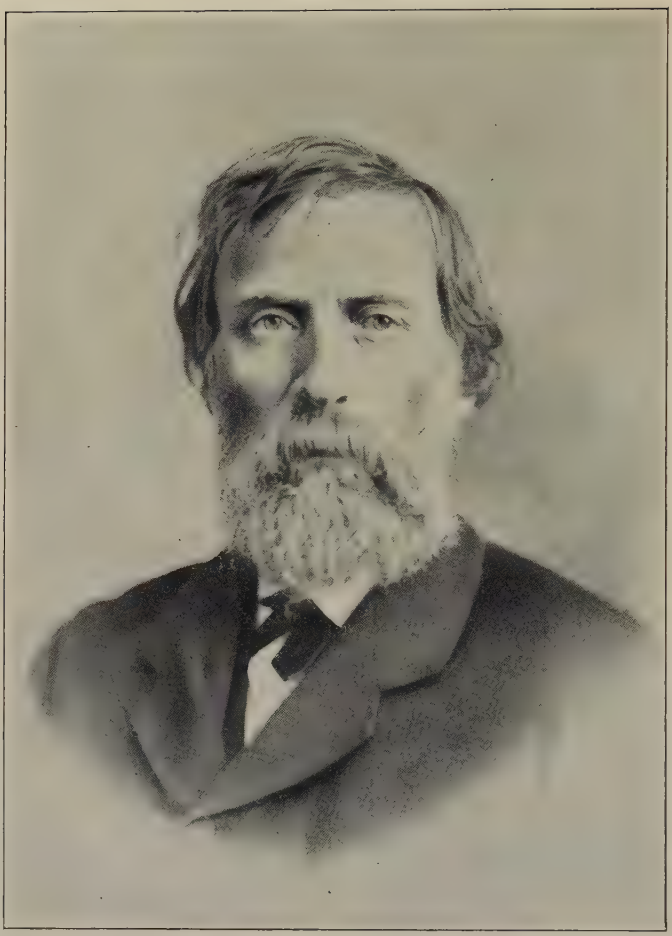
Meagher was arrested in 1848. Out of a jury of 300 drawn in Clonmel only 18 Catholic names appeared in the panel. He was found guilty and transported to the Australian convict colony. His speech from the dock is famous in history. Among other things, he said, "Judged by the law of England, I know this crime entails on me the penalty of death; but the history of Ireland explains that crime and justifies it."

Meagher escaped to America in 1852. He founded the *Irish News* in New York, and became one of America's celebrated orators. When the Civil War broke out in 1861 he raised a zouave company, joined the 69th New York Regiment, a famous fighting regiment under Colonel Michael Corcoran, and then organized one of the most celebrated divisions in the Army of the Potomac, Meagher's Irish Brigade, com-

posed of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois regiments of men born in Ireland. His brigade was cut to pieces in the sanguinary battle of Gettysburg. Meagher escaped with his own life, and, after the war, was appointed governor of Montana, where he was drowned by accident in 1867.

When Mitchel fell and the *Nation* and the *United Irishman* newspapers were destroyed, Keven Izod O'Doherty established the *Irish Tribune*. The government seized the paper and placed O'Doherty in the Newgate dungeon. He was found guilty on the third trial and transported to the convict station in Australia. He managed to get away and reached France. He had been engaged to the beautiful and gifted Eva Kelly of the *Nation* staff, whom he married in 1856, and he became a famous surgeon in Australia.

On the 10th day of November, 1861, the most wonderful funeral but one, the exception being the funeral of Charles Stuart Parnell, was seen in Dublin. The bones of Terence Bellew MacManus, who escaped from the convict camp of Australia, were brought from California. Six thousand miles away they brought the remains of



JOHN MITCHEL

"The game is afoot at last. The liberty of Ireland will come later with the downfall of the British Empire."

one of the expatriated of '48. From all four corners of the world the exiles gathered in Dublin, the world's greatest funeral—from the United States, Canada, Australia, South America, India, West Indies, the Continent the exiles delegated men and women to follow the coffin to Glasnevin. For much of the history of Ireland is written, not in books, but on the tombs of the dead.

CHAPTER XIX

THE UPRISING OF 1865

THE ill-starred revolutionary movement of 1865, known as the Fenian movement, failed sadly, yet history records that the uprising led to the birth of the Home Rule Party, the defeat of the landlords in their long political control of Ireland, and to the scaring of England into granting some local reforms. The records of history will be searched in vain to prove where England ever made any concessions to Ireland except through fear of revolution or because the Irish held the balance of power in the House of Commons.

The Fenian movement was organized in New York, and America furnished the supplies. It was a purely revolutionary society directed at the British government of Ireland. The foremost leaders were James Stephens, Charles J. Kickham, John O'Leary and Thomas Clarke Luby, all but O'Leary being Protestants. It is a curious fact in the history of Ireland that a majority of her foremost rebels have been Protestants, as well as being poets and writers. The leaders of

the Fenians in New York were John O'Mahony, Michael Doherty and Colonel Michael Corcoran of the famous fighting 69th Regiment of New York. They had the support of three New York newspapers.

In April, 1865, the Civil War in the United States was closed by the surrender of the South at Appomattox and the Irish regiments enrolled in the Fenian organization by the thousands. Large sums of money were secured for the arming of the Fenian brotherhoods in Ireland. The British Government struck quickly before the guns from America could be delivered. The leaders were arrested and charged with high treason. Stephens effected a prison conspiracy and escaped, Luby, O'Leary and Kickham were sent to prison for twenty years at hard labor, others were sent to prison for life, many were flogged on the backs with whips steeped in vinegar. The uprisings in seven counties were put down.

The inevitable Irish traitor appeared in the person of Corydon, the informer. Off Sandy Hook, New York, a ship lay. On board were five thousand stand of arms, three pieces of field artillery and ammunition. In charge were officers of the

Irish Brigade fresh from the Union army. Most of the American people were secretly or openly in sympathy with the revolutionists, because of the opposition of England to the American Union in the Civil War and on account of the admiration in the United States for the valor and patriotic devotion of the Irish soldiers in the War of the Rebellion. Friendly American sympathizers had contributed large sums of money to the Fenian cause. The ship reached Sligo Bay, but the revolution was at an end in Ireland.

The trouble had spread to the English cities, where the Irish were numerous. In 1867 two conspirators, Kelly and Deasy, were arrested in Manchester, England. The Fenians resolved on rescue. The two were handcuffed and locked in the prison van guarded by twelve policemen. A party of thirty men attacked the van. They demanded of Sergeant Brett, who was inside, to deliver up the keys. He refused and a revolver shot was fired at the keyhold to break the lock. By mistake Sergeant Brett was hit by the bullet and died. The prisoners were rescued and escaped. A few days later William Philip Allen, Michael Larkin, Thomas Maguire, Michael O'Brien and Edward Condon were tried for the

murder of the policeman. They were found guilty of wilful murder, although the killing was an accident.

Condon said:

I only trust that those who are to be tried after us will have a fair trial, and that our blood will satisfy the craving which I understand exists. You will soon send us before God, and I am perfectly prepared to go. I have nothing to regret, or retract or take back. I can only say GOD SAVE IRELAND.

At daybreak on the morning of the 23d day of November, 1867, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were led forth to die. Long lines of troops surrounded the jail. A savage crowd of Manchester people watched the execution. All three died bravely. Their bodies were refused their relatives, buried in quicklime and in unconsecrated ground. In Dublin 60,000 men marched behind three empty hearses as an evidence of protest.

"GOD SAVE IRELAND"

High upon the gallows tree
Swung the noble-hearted three,
By the vengeful tyrant stricken in their bloom;
But they met him face to face,
With the courage of their race,
And they went with souls undaunted to their doom.

"God save Ireland!" said the heroes;
"God save Ireland!" said they all.
"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or the battlefield we die,
O, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Girt around with cruel foes,
Still their spirits proudly rose,
For they thought of hearts that loved them, far and near;
Of the millions true and brave
O'er the ocean's swelling wave,
And the friends in holy Ireland ever dear.
"God save Ireland!" said they proudly;
"God save Ireland!" said they all.
"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or the battlefield we die,
O, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Climbed they up the rugged stair,
Rung their voices out in prayer,
Then with England's fatal cord around them cast,
Close beneath the gallows tree,
Kissed like brothers lovingly,
True to home, and faith, and freedom, to the last.
"God save Ireland!" prayed they loudly;
"God save Ireland!" said they all.
"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or the battlefield we die,
O, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Never till the latest day
Shall the memory pass away
Of the gallant lives thus given for our land;
But on the cause must go,
Amidst joy, or weal, or woe,
Till we've made our isle a nation free and grand.
"God save Ireland!" say we proudly;
"God save Ireland!" say we all.
"Whether on the scaffold high,
Or the battlefield we die,
O, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall!"

Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were humble men, but their terrible fate and the belief in their innocence caused Parnell to take up the struggle for Ireland. Our true men and women never forget the cause of Irish liberty which ever reverberates in their ears from the clanging of the chains in the prison dungeon to the dying cry of "God save Ireland" on the scaffold at Manchester.

The world can thank or curse, as the case may be, the Fenian Revolutionary Brotherhood for the submarine which is doing such deadly execution, especially on the part of Germany in the North Seas. The great inventor, John P. Holland, improved and developed the submarine, and his improvements first made it practical. Holland

was a young inventive Irish genius, an ardent Irish revolutionist of the Fenian brotherhood or circle led by the celebrated Catalpa Jim Reynolds, who organized a band of patriots, who successfully effected the rescue of the Fenian political prisoners from the Australian convict colonies about forty years ago. As a conspirator, Holland thought out the idea of a submarine boat to be used under water to destroy the English fleet. There was much feeling throughout the United States against England after the Civil War, and many citizens believed that war between the two countries was imminent. The plan of Holland was to use the submarines against England near American and Irish harbors. The Fenian Brotherhood supplied Holland with some $50,000, and he constructed the first known successful submarine, christened it the *Fenian Ram,* and dedicated the underwater craft to the Irish Republic. This led Holland to develop submarines, and the world acknowledges that to the brain of Holland chiefly is due the creation of the modern submarine.

CHAPTER XX

THE SITUATION IN IRELAND

The first contested election for a member of Parliament in Ireland, since the Home Rule Bill was signed by the king, was held in Kings County recently. This county is strongly Nationalist and has been held by the Irish Party, under the leadership of Parnell and Redmond, almost unanimously, for thirty years. The Redmondite convention, the political machine in Ireland, nominated P. F. Adams for the seat of North Kings. The Nationalists, who are opposed to Redmond, decided to run an independent candidate against Mr. Adams. The regular party was shocked that any such impudent challenge to Redmond's leadership should be made at this juncture and all the powerful machinery of the party, supported by the government, was brought to North Kings to crush the insurgents. Outside of the district little attention was paid to the contest, as the Parliamentary Party scoffed, at first, at the candidacy of the Anti-Redmond Nationalist. The whips of the party said that

Mr. E. J. Graham, the independent, would secure no more than a handful of votes. A dozen of Redmond's members of Parliament stumped the district appealing for support of the party candidate. Loyalty to the country, loyalty to Redmond, demanded the triumphant election of Mr. Adams. "All England is watching the result in Tullamore," said John Muldoon, member of Parliament.

Speaking at Tuam on the Sunday before the election, John Redmond said that Graham had flouted his leadership and repudiated the Parliamentary Party and the convention. Mr. Redmond closed his speech with this final appeal:

> I call upon the electors of Kings County to crush, through the ballot box, this act of insubordination.

The result of the first contest since the Home Rule Bill was passed came as a surprise and shock to Mr. Redmond and to the government. The vote follows:

Graham (Anti-Redmond)	1,667
Adams (Redmond)	1,588

As soon as the government received word of the result at North Kings, the military and police authorities stopped the publication of *Ireland,* a

Dublin daily paper which was hostile to the Irish Party.

Ireland is under martial law and all the forces of the government are employed to crush, as an act of treason, any criticism of the authorities which now include Mr. Redmond. Free speech and a free press are denied. The following intimation was received by the writer, who is a subscriber to a paper called *Eire* or *Ireland,* in Dublin, lately suppressed. It is simply copied from a Dublin paper and press censored:

"A circular issued on Saturday "to the readers of *Eire . . . Ireland,"* and signed by Messrs. Arthur Griffith and Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, refers to the suppression of the *Irish Worker* and other papers. It states that, although the printer of the *Worker* endeavored to comply with the demands of the British military authorities, he "had his private property seized and his means of livelihood taken away." The circular concludes: "In the circumstances, the printer of *Ireland* has felt himself unable to continue printing that journal. The editor of *Eire* wishes to add that the printer of *Ireland* has acted throughout with courage, and if he could not further continue to

print the journal, in view of the fate of a man whose printing office has been invaded by armed force and whose property and means of livelihood have been summarily confiscated, despite the fact that he had, to the best of his judgment, complied with British military orders, no reflection rests upon Mr. Mahon" (the printer of *Ireland*).

In a word, Ireland is treated by England and her allies as a conquered country; all real news is suppressed; newspapers are seized, and any man daring to express an opinion in opposition to the policy or action of the authorities is in hourly danger of arrest. But history shows that Ireland and her national spirit thrive on persecution. Already this is evident again. The Volunteer movement, which Redmond tried first to suppress and then to split, has broken away from him, and under the leadership of Professor MacNeill has drawn into its ranks the best of the young manhood of Ireland. The political machine on which years of effort were expended is breaking under the strain put upon it by the unpopularity of the doctrines now preached by the new loyalists, Redmond, Devlin and Company, and all signs point to the bursting forth of the old spirit of

opposition to England and all things English, and to the raising aloft of the old flag of Ireland.

Advices received very recently prove that England is alarmed at the evidences of seething discontent and the fact that many Nationalists are breaking away from John Redmond and rebelling against his leadership.

The *London Times* (weekly edition) of December 11, 1914, published the following news from Ireland:

SEDITION IN IRELAND

SEIZURE OF "IRISH FREEDOM"

A number of police-constables in Dublin visited newsvendors' shops in every district in the city on Thursday evening last week and seized all the copies on sale of the publication known as *Irish Freedom.* They also raided the offices of the paper, and seized all the copies there.

The printers of the following publications, *Irish Freedom, Sinn Fein, Ireland,* the *Irish Worker,* the *Irish Volunteer,* and the *Leader* were warned that if they printed matter calculated to promote disaffection or to impair recruiting they would render themselves liable to trial by court-martial, and to the confiscation of their type and plant.

A public meeting to protest against the action of the

police was held in Beresford-place, Dublin, on Sunday. A company of the "citizen army" of the Transport Workers' Union, with rifles, occupied a position in Liberty Hall overlooking the meeting.

Mr. James Connolly, who presided, said that had the police or military tried to disperse the meeting, the rifles would not have been silent. He also said that arrangements were being made to continue the suppressed papers in another form. Speeches were made against Mr. Redmond and the Nationalist Party.

John Redmond is to-day acting in harmony with the traditional policy of the British Government in Ireland. The Liberal government, with his tacit consent, has prohibited the *Irish World* of New York from entering Ireland, although the *Irish World* has long been his chief newspaper support in America and had raised $800,000 to sustain the party. That journal could not agree with the policy of recruiting advocated by him, and for that reason Redmond betrays the *Irish World* to the government and destroys its large circulation in Ireland.

The majority section of the National Volunteers who refused to follow Redmond are being persecuted by the government. A young man, employed as a salesman by a Dublin wholesale

grocer, was discharged by his Tory employer for differing with Redmond's policy, and writes that he expects to be imprisoned unless he leaves the country. Officers of the volunteers have been dismissed from railways, breweries and insurance companies. Government servants, suspected of having similar opinions, have been dismissed. Houses are being searched for arms, suspected meetings are patrolled by armed soldiers, no revolver can be sold in a hardware store unless reported, gunsmiths have to send inventories of their stock to the authorities. The government seized a lot of rifles on the way to Ireland. Thousands of letters from Americans to relatives and friends in Ireland are opened, and men are jailed daily for protesting against recruiting.

Although the German torpedo boat sunk the super-dreadnaught *Audacious,* two months ago, just off the County Donegal, naturally the big war news event for Ireland, not an Irish newspaper dare print a word of the disaster. The British newspapers blame the "extremists" for the small number of Nationalists recruiting, but say that Redmond has done the best he could and is to be made a peer of the realm after the war.

The recruiting posters for the army afford curious reading for the student of Irish history. There is one posted over the walls and billboards of County Cork.

MEN OF MUNSTER
UP WITH
THE IRISH BRIGADE
ALL IRELAND IS JOINING
ARE WE AFRAID? NO!

The Royal Munster Fusiliers, The Royal Irish Regiment, Leinster Regiment and Connaught Rangers

NOW RECRUITING—JOIN AT ONCE

AND BE FOREMOST IN THE FIGHT FOR IRELAND AND FOR LIBERTY

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., says:

And for my part I trust and believe that the manhood of Ireland will not be content only to remain at home waiting and watching, while other men are risking their lives to defend their liberties.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., says:

The hour has come, every man worth his salt, worthy of belonging to our fighting race, has got to step into the fighting line.

Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., says:

Irish Volunteers, emulate the example of your forefathers who fought in the Irish Brigade in France. I am proud of the 700 young National Volunteers of Belfast who have responded to the call of duty.

Besides your pay, your wives, children and dependents will be cared for during your absence.

	Per Week
Wives will receive	12/6
Each child	2/6
Mothers and other dependents, from.....3/ to	20/

Disabled—The government has undertaken that any man permanently disabled will receive an adequate pension to recompense him for the loss he sustains in wage-earning capacity.

THE PRINCIPAL CORK EMPLOYERS

Have promised to keep your places open for you at the end of the war, and will also see that your family and dependents are as well off during your absence as they are at present.

Joseph Devlin, asking for an Irish brigade, like the Irish brigade of Fontenoy and Landen, is a spectacle of slavish submission which causes patriotic men to hang their heads in shame. The contrast between an Irish brigade, in 1915, fighting for England against the intrepid Germans,

always the friends of the Irish throughout the world, and the heroes of the *Irish brigade* who won the battle of Fontenoy, defeating the English, is simply indescribable. Devlin's comparison is sacrilegious enough to awaken from the tomb Thomas Davis, the national poet, who made the stirring ballad about the Franco-Irish victory at Fontenoy:

O'Brien's voice is hoarse with joy, as, halting, he commands,
"Fix bay'nets!—Charge!" Like mountain storm rush on those fiery bands,
Thin is the English column now, and faint their volleys grow,
Yet, mustering all the strength they have, they make a gallant show.
They dress their ranks upon the hill to meet that battle wind,
Their bayonets the breakers' foam,—like rocks the men behind!
One volley crashes from their line, when through the surging smoke,
With empty guns clutched in their hands, the headlong Irish broke.
On Fontenoy, on Fontenoy, hark to that fierce huzza!
"Revenge! remember Limerick! dash down the Sassanagh!"
Like lions leaping at the fold, when mad with hunger's pang,

Right up against the English line the Irish exiles sprang:
Bright was their steel, 'tis bloody now, their guns are filled with gore,
Through shattered ranks and severed files and trampled flags they tore.
The English strove with desperate strength, paused, rallied, staggered, fled,
The green hillside is matted close with dying and with dead.
Across the plain and far away passed on that hideous wrack,
While cavalier and fantassin dash in upon their track.
On Fontenoy, on Fontenoy, like eagles in the sun,
With bloody plumes the Irish stand,—the field is fought and won.

Joseph Devlin is the boss of the Irish political machine. He operates the levers through the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which is organized most effectively to control the country, the Parliamentary Party. As an organizer, Devlin is able, ambitious and shrewd. He expects to become the real political power, in the event of Home Rule, and he has succeeded in placing many of his followers on the British payroll. The writer learned in Ireland that Joseph Devlin had been the most successful Irishman of the present generation in

securing employment under the British Government for the party workers. There are very few exceptions to the rule that once an Irishman gets on the government pay-roll it is the end of him as a patriotic force. The Devlin machine throughout Ireland operates the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which is a political organization quite unlike the order in America. The Hibernians in Ireland, under the able and shrewd manipulation of Joseph Devlin, national president, form an organization as practical as Tammany Hall and better organized.

THE SHAN VAN VOCHT*

O, the Germans are on the sea,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht;
The Germans are on the sea,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht;
O, the Germans are in the bay,
  They'll be here without delay
And the Orange will decay,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
O, the Germans are in the bay,
  They'll be here by break of day,
And the Orange will decay,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.

*A century-old song modified.

And where will they have their camp?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Where will they have their camp?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
On the Curragh of Kildare,
  The boys they will be there
With their rifles in good repair,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
To the Curragh of Kildare
  The boys they will repair,
And the leaders will be there,
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.

Then what will the patriots do?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
What *will* the patriots do?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
What *should* the patriots do,
  But throw off the red and blue,
And swear that they'll be true
  To the Shan Van Vocht?
  What *should* the patriots do?

And what color will they wear?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
What color will they wear?
  Says the Shan Van Vocht.
What color should be seen
  Where our fathers' homes have been
But their own immortal green?

Says the Shan Van Vocht.
What color should be seen?

And will Ireland then be free?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Will Ireland then be free?
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Yes! Ireland *shall* be free
From the centre to the sea;
Then hurrah for Liberty!
Says the Shan Van Vocht.
Yes! Ireland *shall* be free.

CHAPTER XXI

HOW ENGLAND SERVES UP THE NEWS FOR THE WORLD

JOHN MITCHELL, the grandfather of the present young Mayor of New York City, said that, wrong or right, "England has the ear of the world." During the first two months of the war it is estimated that 90 per cent. of the war news printed in average American newspapers came through English channels and by English press arrangements. In order to suppress news from Germany, the German cables were cut before August 5th. A flock of British special writers appeared in the United States. The Germans labored under the disadvantage of their language in this strange country. The letters from their professors and authors were poorly adapted to the American newspaper style and habit of reading, and the artists who write our wonderful head lines, innocently, humorously or purposely, as the case may be, caused them to vary in grotesque wordings. Then, too, the pleas were too long to

be read by the spoiled and impatient American newspaper reader.*

One man, above all, has caused truth as to Germany finally to work itself clear in the light of reason. I refer to the achievements of Doctor Bernhard Dernburg, of Berlin, former Minister in the German Cabinet, living at present in New York. This man has stripped the mask of hypocrisy off the face of John Bull, exposed the falsity of his claim to be the saviour of small nations, and pilloried the English writers with proven facts and figures, which literary feats, so able, thorough and skilful, have captivated the imagination and impressed the reasoning powers of the thinking section of the American public. While the English writers for American publications are quarrelling among themselves as to the causes or necessity of the war, and calling their opponents names or applying epithets, Dr. Dernburg never loses his temper, steadily aims and hits the bull's-eye, and is an epitome of the faith, steadiness and efficiency which characterizes Germany. There is a charm to his diction

*The writer refers only to writers and publicists in Germany. The brilliant and effective work of Mr. Herman Ridder, editor of the New York *Staats Zeitung*, is invaluable, likewise many German newspapers printed in the United States.

and an element of grim humor which make his letters seem like literary gems. He lived in New York for many years, where he was trained as a banker, and his father was owner of the *Berlin Tageblatt*. He has convinced many Americans of the falsity and injustice of much of the news carrying London dates. This poisoning of the world's news during the world's struggle is gradually being resented by American journals. The following editorial appeared in the *New York American* of December 10, 1914:

HOW ENGLAND MAKES AND UNMAKES NATIONAL REPUTATIONS

"That acute observer of international affairs, Mr. Arthur Moore, sets forth very clearly one of the reasons for England's domination of world opinion. It is quite true as he points out, and as every American traveler abroad notices, that the American news selected for publication by London papers is largely that of matters discreditable to us as a social organization—lynchings, murders, large defalcations, Congressional futilities, etc. And any man of cosmopolitan habit knows that the news we get of Continental Europe, through London, is equally misleading.

It is for this reason that even in peace times *The American* maintains in Paris and Berlin its own news bureaus, and has its special correspondents scattered

all over Europe. While, during the existing struggle, it is fortunate in being able to present to its readers the war news gathered by the *London Times* and the *London Telegraph,* it supplements and corrects the news thus obtained by the reports of the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger,* the Paris *Matin* and its army of special correspondents in the theatre of war. Withal a large staff of editors is kept busy correcting the tendency of British correspondents to exalt their nation's virtues at the expense of the rest of the world."—EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN.

Mr. Arthur Moore says:

"England has controlled the news of the world for more than a century. It has been her greatest diplomatic weapon. It has probably gained more for her than her huge navy and her fine army. More than once it has saved her from serious loss.

"Not one great event but has been seen for the rest of the world through English eyes or told to the rest of the world as England wished to tell it. The traditional racial characteristics of each of us were fitted upon us by England for all the world to learn by heart. And the myth of "British fair play" stands above all the characteriza-

tions we suffer under as the greatest masterpiece of them all.

SORT OF "NEWS" LONDON TRANSMITS

"Europe knows America and we misunderstand Europe through news bearing the London date. Negro burning, the Camorra, bull fights, the Dreyfus case, Russian Jew slaughters, pass to and fro as "news" through London.

"Since the establishment of the Triple Entente, London remade the French character for the world. On the date of the Entente's beginning, the myth of French decadence became the miracle of French renaissance. From the same moment the "bear that walks like a man" was transformed by Dr. Dillon and a host of lesser English into a simple Christian hero.

"Every one remembers the English-told story of the Japanese-Russian War, that story that drove us mad with admiration for the Japanese, England's allies; that made us forget the great unselfish friendship of Russia in the time of our own great war. From London the news poured into our newspapers *always for Japan, till we served as England's tool* to help humiliate Rus-

sia by a disastrous peace and hated the Japanese since the next day after the treaty was signed.

OUR PANAMA ARGUMENTS SUPPRESSED

"Our own Panama Canal controversy with England is fresh in the minds of all. Our side, just if ever anything was just, never was heard by the rest of the world, scarcely was heard by us. In every German, French and Italian journal we were spoken of as a nation without honor, as cheats and thieves by birth and traditions, *always in dispatches from London.* The facts were twisted and misrepresented in these London "news items," and interviews with every prominent man who took the English side were sent broadcast until even we ourselves were shaken in our faith in our cause. It is all over now, the English control of the distribution of international news beat us, that and nothing else. And it is something not to be good-naturedly forgotten.

"The menace of German militarism became known to the world, curiouly enough, about the time that the French became regenerate and the Russians finally "tucked in their shirts," that is, about the time of the formation of the Entente.

From that date onward till the beginning of the war we heard more and more of this new menace that had taken the place of the Slav hordes as the world-wide bugaboo. And it was not from France, but from England, that the tales of this new terror came.

"When the great war broke upon the world we were already prepared to believe everything against the Germans, as we were ready to believe everything against the Russians when they were fighting the Japanese, allies of England.

A MONOPOLY OF NEWS VALUABLE

"Newspapers do not manufacture news. They can only collect it from the best *available* sources and present it to their readers in the most acceptable form. That the best available source of all international news is now, as it always has been, England, is the fault of no one. But it is a serious fact that ought to be realized fully and constantly by every man and woman who reads the newspapers in these times. To-day almost all the important news is foreign news, and it is news about events that are changing the whole world. Never before has England's monopoly of international news been of so tremendous a

value to England or so dangerous to the rest of the world.

"One need not be pro-German to fear and to distrust the use to which England may put this tremendous power that she possesses; one need only be a little thoughtful. We may well be called upon as a nation to play a very important part in the final adjustments following this conflict. And if we open-eyed fall a victim once more to this most powerful weapon of British diplomacy we may fail in playing our part in a manner that we may lastingly regret. Day by day our judgment is being undermined by this force in the hands of England. But knowing it we ought to guard against it, pro-German and anti-German alike, till the war is over."

"The English mobilization of the news" is a phrase that exactly describes British press activities. It has been used by an Austrian journalist, Mr. Rudolf Kommer. "We were intensely struck by the literary quality of the 'atrocity stories,'" says Mr. Kommer, describing his impressions of London in the first days of the war. "While our colleagues in Germany and Austria and France and Russia were admiring the over-

whelming features of the mobilization of the armies, we were exhausting ourselves in admiration for *the English mobilization of the news.*" The strict censorship exercised by the military authorities in London is merely the reverse side of English journalist activity. The newspaper readers in the British Islands have been told all about the insurrections in Hungary and Bohemia, but they have not yet heard about the sinking of the *Audacious* off the coast of Donegal east.

However, none of the results of the war so far has come through and the following account of the prisoners of war in German hands was given in *The Irish Times* of January 7, 1915:

PRISONERS OF WAR IN GERMANY

A FORMIDABLE TOTAL

The following official statement has been issued from the German Chief Headquarters:

The total number of prisoners of war interned in Germany, not including civilian prisoners, is 8,138 officers and 577,475 men.

The figures do not include a number of those taken prisoner in the course of the pursuit in Russian Poland, nor those at present on their way to concentration camps. The number of interned prisoners is made up as follows:

	OFFICERS	MEN
French	3,459	215,505
Russians	3,575	306,294
Belgians	612	36,852
British	492	18,824
Totals.....	8,138	577,475

Among the captured officers are stated to be seven French generals, eighteen Russian generals, and three Beligian generals.

The official statement continues: The Russian statement, alleged to have been issued by the Russian War Minister, that 1,140 German officers and 134,700 men have been captured by the Russians, is incorrect, as the Russian figures include all civilians arrested on and since the outbreak of the war. The number of actual prisoners is not more than 15 per cent. of these figures.

Mighty marvels of transformation in the racial and national character of the Allies have been performed by the British journalists. And many of the American editors have literally swallowed these fantastic and absurd characterizations, dated London, without giving a thought to history. Furnish us dispatches, false or true, but dispatches! We care not who furnishes the news let us, but write the lurid headlines! The

decadent, obscene, irreligious French nation, as England regarded that great people not long since, are now passing through a period of renaissance. The pathetic stories of nuns and heroic priests from France make us forget Viviani, the French premier, who said, in driving the nuns out of France, that he had "extinguished the lights in heaven." The Russians who, according to Kipling, were styled the "bear that walks like a man," are now the intrepid guardians of civilization, while the Sepoys, who were tied to and shot from the mouths of English cannon only sixty years ago, are styled "our brave and swarthy allies from India."

CHAPTER XXII

NEW YORK PUBLIC OPINION

THE discerning and thinking American citizen pays little attention to the fickle thing called "majority of public opinion." You can travel on the Continent, all the way from Barcelona, Spain, to London, and you will see thousands of monuments erected to commemorate the memory of patriots, but never one was in a majority at first, or for most of his life. Every work of revolution has come from a determined minority. George Washington, the Father of our Country, was at the head of a resolute minority. If he had failed, England would have hung him on the scaffold, like Emmet, as a rebel.

Woodrow Wilson, in his "History of the American People," writing of the American Revolution, says: "It is the familiar story of revolution; the active and efficient concert of a comparatively small number at a moment of doubt and crisis." Garibaldi, with ten thousand followers clad in red shirts, united Italy and made a kingdom out of political fragments. The

immortal Robert Emmet mustered no more than a few thousand followers, but his name is venerated, and his short life commemorated more than any other in Ireland's long and pathetic history.

New York City is to-day the stronghold of Toryism and English snobbery, as it was in the days of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. In the dark days of 1776 and of 1861 the so-called "public opinion" of New York and the newspapers of the city opposed the national and patriotic cause. Washington distrusted the New York City merchant class. In 1861 Abraham Lincoln was caricatured as an ape by the metropolitan press, inspired by London. For fifteen decades the New York City newspapers, or the majority of them, have been led in international politics, and in the world's business, by London. Their real influence in the United States is small, and steadily receding in the West, which controls the country in public affairs. The favor of certain New York City newspapers is disastrous to all national aspirants for public honors. The delegation from New York State, the largest, is the most impotent in Congress. The voice of New York City is local and does not even control the

commonwealth of the State of New York—to say nothing of the United States of America. The Irish emigrants of New York in 1776 were the first to enroll in the Revolution, and George Washington became a member of the first Irish Revolutionary society in New York, the Sons of Saint Patrick. Without the support of the Irish, the colony of New York would not have embraced the American Constitution. When the Declaration of Independence was submitted, New York was loyal to England. Thomas Jefferson announced his distrust of New York. George Washington, satisfied of the devotion of Philadelphia and Boston, determined that he would transfer his headquarters to New York, and relied on the intrepid Irish patriots for support. He took charge of a hostile commonwealth (see Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People," page 243, Vol. 2). There were enough Tory sympathizers to lose him New York, and fearing treachery on the part of the residents, Washington retreated from New York in the fall of 1776. "These are the times that try men's souls," said Thomas Paine in December, 1776. Confident of New York, the British followed Washington to the Delaware. The soldiers of

Washington were starving when 1,800 Irish riflemen reached him from New York, and the Sons of Saint Patrick sent him $24,000 in gold. This brought his force up to 7,200 fighting men. The English army in America was then 18,000 troops. The year before, the first general to die was Richard Montgomery, friend of Washington, native of Raphoe, Ireland.

The year 1777 was a terrible year for George Washington. He was outnumbered, betrayed, his troops were freezing and starving, and British gold controlled New York. The English had hired the Hessian mercenaries to fight, when, according to Woodrow Wilson, historian, "as the year drew to its close the great Frederick of Prussia had forbidden troops hired in the other German states to cross Prussian territory to serve the English in America." Valley Forge is the Limerick of America. The English hired the savage Mohawk Indians to destroy the wives and children of the American colonists. France took the side of America because she was at war with England on the Continent. Paul Jones bombarded English ports in 1779, and 116 years later (1915) the Germans are firing on the same English cities. The English bought Benedict Arnold away from George Washington by the promise

of high office, exactly as the English Government of 1914 has bought John Redmond, the Irish leader, by the promise of office under the local Home Rule Bill.

The treason of Benedict Arnold is recorded in his pass to Major Andre, the British spy, September 22, 1780, which read: "Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass to White Plains on business." I cannot help thinking that the prospect of high office under the local Home Rule bill has been all persuasive in inducing John Redmond to adopt a course that will lead to many friends of Ireland comparing him to Benedict Arnold.

Let Erin remember the days of old,
'Ere her faithless sons betrayed her,
When Malachi wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from her proud invader,
When her Kings with standard of green unfurled
Led the Red Branch Knights to danger,
'Ere the emerald gem of the western world
Was set in the crown of the Stranger.

The sons and descendants of the Celts and the Gaels, throughout the imperial commonwealth of New York, have repudiated the treachery of Redmond to the cause of "Ireland a Nation." In the largest halls of New York, Carnegie Hall, Terrace Garden, the Academy of Music in Brook-

lyn, vast multitudes have gathered to denounce the betrayal of the national cause. The women have vied with the men in the enthusiasm of their gatherings. The Sons of Ulster, Leinster, Munster and Connaught, through their brotherhood of county societies, representing practically all the men of New York who have ever done anything for Ireland, have voiced the true feeling. The fourth of March, 1915, the anniversary of the martyr—Robert Emmet—is near at hand. Hundreds of meetings are under way for that day. All will extend sympathy and encouragement to our German friends and neighbors. True Nationalists have been taught for generations that in England's emergency will be found the sole opportunity for the liberty of Ireland.

On August 18, 1914, President Wilson addressed to the American people a powerful appeal in behalf of a broad neutrality. In "The White Papers," republished from the *New York Times,* an able and influential newspaper, the following copy of the proclamation appears:

I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself during the last troubled weeks what influence the European war may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few

words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say or do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspapers and magazines contain, upon what our ministers utter in their pulpits and men proclaim as their opinions on the streets.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility; responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinions, hot against each

other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion, if not in action. Such diversions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people, holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

I venture, therefore, my fellow-countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon ever transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest wish and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours, which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation fit beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self-control, the efficiency of dispassionate action, a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels, and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraint which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?

WOODROW WILSON.

Although six months have passed, we find the *New York Times* one of the most flagrant daily violators of the President's admonition. A sample of the *Times'* "neutrality" may be noticed in an editorial of February 10, 1915. The *Times* says:

The chief moral superstition in Germany to-day is that concerning divine right. The future of the German people is being sacrificed to that exploded notion. Six months of war with no result save "calumnies and hatred and bitter hostility everywhere" is enough to dishearten the German soldiers and the German people. There have been other results—Germany has brought upon itself not alone the condemnation of the civilized world outside, but sore distress and privation within the Empire. The proofs of it are too numerous to be ignored, and they are multiplying rapidly. Germany is like an invested fortress.

Then follows a long and labored article showing that the Allies are winning the war and that German victory is impossible. All this notwithstanding the fact that Germany has won all of the greatest battles in the war thus far, holds all of

Belgium, a considerable section of France and Russia, and has electrified the world with her naval exploits. The *New York Herald* indulges daily in the most venomous cartoons directed at Germany. Mr. Joseph Choate, former Ambassador to Great Britain, and former President Eliot, of Harvard College, vie with the English publicists now visiting the United States in literary efforts aimed at the destruction of Germany and the triumph of England. We have waited patiently for six months before launching this much-needed book, which represents a vast and growing American public opinion, and much as we regret to have the appearance of disregarding the plea of our President for neutrality, to all fair-minded men the facts contained in this work are very necessary in order to offset the unneutral propagandas.

CHAPTER XXIII

IRISH OPINION IN SOUTH AMERICA

THE sons of the Irish emigrants expatriated to the tropics and south of the equator are not deceived by the appeal of John Redmond to save Ireland from the ruthless German invaders. The Irish in South America and the West Indies, while not numerous, are important, and they are usually men of standing and exercise a good influence on their neighbors. The Irish mission priests are noted for their bravery, intrepidity and skill in handling the natives. After the famine of 1847 in Ireland many peasants reached the coasts of South America and settled on the pampas land of Argentine or in Brazil, Chile, Peru and along the Caribbean Sea. The sons of these men have heard the story of England from the lips of their fathers. A considerable number of Irish emigrants married natives or women of mixed blood, and it is curious to meet black, brown and olive-skinned men bearing the names O'Brien, Donnelly, Brady, O'Callihan, O'Hara, Maloney, McDonnell, O'Ryan and Delehanty,

speaking Spanish or Portuguese with a tincture of Irish brogue. The oldest Irish families are located on the Pacific Coast side of the Continent, mostly in Peru and Chile, although the last twenty-five years have brought more Irish emigrants to the east coast of South America. They form important colonies in the towns, and a number raise sheep, cattle and coffee in the interior. They are not fooled by lies about the Germans, like their countrymen in Ireland, where there are not more than 500 Germans in the island; but in the tropics the Irish resident knows the German as the most thorough and efficient of individuals, and the type to be studied and followed. In the West Indies he saw the jealousies excited in the British colonies by the success of the German salesmen, bankers, and merchants gradually overpowering the English traders. He witnessed the Hamburg-American lines gradually forcing out the English steamships in the first-class steamship cargo, tourist and passenger business throughout the tropics and in the West Indies, where even the colonists of the English possession, Jamaica, preferred the German boats to Hayti and Porto Rica. Your emigrant in the Latin-American countries knows only too well

the superiority of the Germans in the world-wide commercial struggle. Consequently he is not carried off his feet by scare headlines in the American, English and Irish newspapers now flooding the tropics. He sees all the colonists at close range, he has his country and her history before him, and that is why most all of the Irish in the West Indies, Central America and South America are outspoken in their opposition to recruiting Irishmen to fight England's battle and save her from decline as a world power.

Argentina, with a population of 5,000,000, is the most important country in South America, that is, the most prosperous, and contains the finest city in the New World, Buenos Ayres, second only to New York in grandeur, the Paris of the Continent. The leading newspaper in South America, printed in English, devoted to the Nationalist Irish movement, is the *Southern Cross* of Buenos Ayres, well printed, widely circulated and of international interest. This journal represents the views of the Irish who live in the tropics or south of the equator. This periodical reaches the United States, where it is frequently quoted as a unique proof that a paper printed in English, devoted to Ireland, of rare literary value, can

exist in Argentina. The following opinions of the *Southern Cross* is the real view of the Latin-American Celts:

"WILL IRELAND BE FALSE TO HERSELF?"

"Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honor, good faith, and self-interest if she sent her children to die on foreign battlefields, fighting the battles of the stranger."

"John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, has issued the following manifesto:

The whole-hearted endorsement by the Irish people and the Irish Volunteers of the spirit of my declaration, made on the impulse of the moment, and without seeking for any conditions whatever, that the defence of Ireland might safely be left to the sons of Ireland themselves, shows the profound change which has been brought about in the relations of Ireland to the empire by the events of the past three years.

"We Irish all agree that the defence of Ireland ought to be left to the sons of Ireland; but the British do not agree to it and so do not leave the defence of Ireland to the Irish.

"The Irish people know, and appreciate the fact fully, that, at last, after centuries of misun-

derstanding, the democracy of Great Britain has finally and irrevocably decided to trust them, and to give them back their national liberties. By overwhelming British majorities a charter of liberty for Ireland has been three times passed by the House of Commons. A new era, it appears, has opened in the history of the two nations.

"IRELAND GETS LITTLE MORE THAN A PROMISE OF HER RIGHTS"

"The question is not whether the British democracy trusts the Irish, but whether the Irish can trust them. It is false that the British democracy has finally and irrevocably decided to give the Irish their national liberties—as yet we have got nothing. Even the paltry and meagre Home Rule Bill can be revoked at any moment; and in any case an amending bill will be brought forward before the law is put into execution. Moreover, by this Home Rule Bill Ireland does not come into her national liberties; she gets little more than a promise of the rights that any camp municipality enjoys in this country.

"The Home Rule Bill was not passed by an overwhelming British majority; if it depended

solely on the British vote, it would not have passed; it was the Irish vote that pulled it through.

"Mr. Redmond further states:

During the long discussion of the Irish problem in Parliament and on the platform we promised the British people that the concession of liberty would have the same effect in Ireland as in every other part of the empire, and notably in recent years in South Africa, that disaffection would give way to friendship and good will, and that Ireland would become a strength, instead of a weakness, to the empire. The democracy of Great Britain listened to our appeal, and have kept faith with Ireland. It is now a duty of honor for Ireland to keep faith with them.

"Why should Mr. Redmond make these promises? Who authorized him to do so? When did British democracy keep faith with Ireland? and when and where did Ireland promise them anything? One would think by the manner in which Mr. Redmond puts it, that Ireland had no right to demand Home Rule, that this was a gratuitous gift on the part of the British Empire.

"The Home Rule Bill does not grant to Ireland the liberties enjoyed by other parts of the empire, such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc.

"Mr. Redmond makes special reference to

South Africa, where, according to him, disaffection gave way to friendship and good will.

"Mr. Redmond's assertions have been disproved by facts. At the present moment a great part of Transvaal and of the Orange State is up in arms against the British Empire. General Delarey, who opposed the war against Germany, was assassinated in Pretoria. By whom? General Delarey was one of the heroes of the Boer War and was very popular all over South Africa.

"Mr. Redmond said also:

A test to search men's souls has arisen. The empire is engaged in the most serious war in history. It is a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany. It is a war for the defence of the sacred rights and liberties of small nations, and the respect and enlargement of the great principle of nationality. Involved in it is the fate of France, our kindred country, the chief nation of that powerful Celtic race to which we belong; the fate of Belgium, to whom we are attached by the same great ties of race, and by the common desire of a small nation to assert its freedom; and the fate of Poland, whose sufferings and whose struggle bear so marked a resemblance to our own.

It is a war for high ideals of human government and international relations, and Ireland would be false to her history, and to every consideration of honor,

good faith, and self-interest, did she not willingly bear her share in its burdens and its sacrifices. We have, even when no ties of sympathy bound our country to Great Britain, always given our quota, and more than our quota, to the firing-line, and we shall do so now.

Words, words. If the empire is at war it should fight its own battles. Mr. Redmond says the war is just, but the Irish people do not know, nor have they sufficient elements at their disposal to pronounce judgment on the justice or causes of the war. We feel for France and for Belgium and hope that Poland may obtain her own. One thing we know, that the Poles, if they cannot obtain freedom, would prefer to be under Austria than under Russia, the ally of England.

"Ireland would be false indeed to her history, and to every consideration of honor, good faith and self-interest if she sent her children to die on foreign battlefields fighting the battles of the stranger in a war that she has neither provoked nor knows anything about. Those who have brought on and declared this war should fight it out. Whenever Ireland has made war, her sons have been men enough to do the fighting; they did not remain at home and ask the stranger to do it for them.

Ireland is not alone in this way of thinking. The Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile and all the Latin-American Republics, the United States, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Greece, etc., have decided to take no sides in this war. Why does not Mr. Redmond appeal to the sympathy of those strong nations, instead of seeking to deprive Ireland of the few children that remain to comfort and help her in her hour of need?

"The Swiss Government was advised by one of the belligerent powers to protest against Germany for violating Belgian neutrality. The answer was swift and curt: "Switzerland has enough to do to defend her own neutrality."

"NO IRISHMAN SHOULD EVER ENLIST IN ENGLAND'S SERVICE"

"Mr. Redmond says that the Irish fought before for Great Britain. The most of those who did so had enlisted in the British army before war, and therefore were forcibly obliged to go, but in any case if some Irish were fooled once it does not follow that they should always be fooled. No Irishman should ever enlist in the British army in time of peace or war; that is our principle, and

it is the principle of every true Irishman from O'Neill to Parnell.

"Mr. Redmond further says:

We have a right, however, to claim that Irish recruits for the Expeditionary Force should be kept together as a unit, officered as far as possible by Irishmen, composed, if possible, of county battalions, to form, in fact, an "Irish Brigade," so that Ireland may gain national credit for their deeds, and feel, like other communities of the empire, that she, too, has contributed an army bearing her name in this historic struggle.

Simultaneously with the formation of this Irish Brigade, for service abroad, our volunteers must be put in a state of efficiency as speedily as practicable, for the defence of the country. In this way, by the time the war ends, Ireland will possess an army of which she may be proud. I feel certain that the young men of our country will respond to this appeal with the gallantry of their race.

The British, or, if Mr. Redmond wishes, the Imperial Government, has not consented to grant this right. This confirms what we say, that the Irish should not enlist for service in this war.

"LET IRISHMEN LEARN AND BEWARE"

"If the youth of Ireland pay heed to Mr. Redmond, acting as recruiting sergeant for the Brit-

ish Government, then at the end of the war Ireland will have lost the flower of her children, who will have died not for their mother, but for the stranger in a foreign land. This is not guesswork. When war was declared, 600 Irishmen of the Dublin Fusiliers were sent to the front. One month after a war-worn band of 42 returned to Dublin. Those 42 were the remnant of the 600 Irish Fusiliers. The majority died on the battlefield, or remained in the hospitals, invalids for life. Let Irishmen learn and beware of enlisting.

"Mr. Redmond said in conclusion:

I would appeal to our countrymen of a different creed and of opposite political opinion, to accept the friendship we have so consistently offered them; to allow this great war, as to which their opinions and ours are the same, and our action will also be the same, to swallow up all the small issues in the domestic government of Ireland which now divide us; that as our soldiers are going to fight, to shed their blood, and to die at each other's side, in the same army, against the same enemy, and for the same high purpose, their union in the field may lead to a union in their home, and that their blood may be the seal that will bring all Ireland together in one nation, and in liberties equal and common to all.

"Ireland needs all her sons of every creed and of every political opinion. And we say to all: Do not fight other people's wars; remain at home and build up a strong and free Ireland. There is work for all in that dear Ireland whose honor has been handed down untarnished through the ages into the hands of the present generation.

"We understand that Mr. Redmond is considered a great orator. In this manifesto he lacks many of the great qualities of a thinker. He is vague and colorless. His aim is that Irishmen should go to Europe to fight for England, but he does not say this openly; he speaks about our sympathy for France, Belgium and Poland and gives no fundamental reason for appealing to the Irish people to fight the stranger's battles. He does not explain why, not counting the colonies, eight million Englishmen of an age and capacity to bear arms remain at home without thinking of going to fight for their country.

"SHALL IRELAND DIE A DEATH OF INFAMY AND DEGRADATION?"

"The reading of this manifesto was not merely a painful surprise, but we felt in our heart a sense of loss, of betrayal. It struck us forcibly

that neither Owen Roe O'Neill, O'Donnell, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, nor any of those great men who lived or died for Ireland would ever have signed such a document. If Ireland cannot hold her own (and she can) she should die with honor, as gallant nations die. Ireland should not die a death of infamy and degradation.

"Was it for this that during centuries Ireland suffered and labored? Was it for this our women and children died of starvation, or were brutally murdered or had to flee to distant lands? Was it for this that Irishmen fought in Ireland and in every battlefield in Europe?

"If this be the result, then Ireland's martyrdom, Ireland's sufferings, Ireland's aspirations, have been in vain; it would have been better for her if, at the beginning, she had prostrated herself on the ground and meekly allowed herself to be trampled on by the Sassenach. But, thank God, the result is not this. Irishmen and Irishwomen will rise in their anger and reject this solution. Redmond's day is done; he got the chance of being a great man, but has failed."

From other sections of South America, where Irish residents are heard from, the repudiation of

Redmond's leadership continues. In Santiago, the capital of Chile, the Irish society gathered near the famous equestrian statute of O'Higgins and denounced the plan for the betrayal of the cause of Irish freedom. There are few greater names in South American history than O'Higgins, both father and son.

The first O'Higgins was born in County Meath, Ireland, in 1720, died in Lima, Peru, in 1810. He was first a peddler in Argentina. Then he built roads and became an engineer. For twelve years he was Governor of Chile and for some years Viceroy of Peru. His son, Bernard O'Higgins, died at Lima, Peru, in 1842. He led a successful revolution against Spain and was made President of Chile. A revolution overthrew his Government in 1823 and he was driven into exile in Peru. His ashes were brought back with great honors by the Chilean Government and his statue is the most imposing one in Santiago. His son, Demetris, died in 1869, and was a contributor to the young Ireland movement of 1848. Bernard O'Higgins is conceded to have been the ablest Chilean administrator.

The most important line of steamers to the west coast are the Grace ships, the head of the

firm of brothers being the late Mayor of New York, William R. Grace, of Cork, County Cork, Ireland. He lived in Peru in his early days and contributed liberally to Irish famine and national funds. Mr. Grace found institutes in America and in Peru for the free business training of poor boys and girls.

Irish colonists, citizens and societies have met in Cuba, Mexico, Porto Rico, and in the cities of Rio Janeiro, Bahia, Sao Paulo, and Callao, and condemned the vilification and misrepresentation of the German people by England. The fathers of many of these men were impressed by the English merchantmen and intended by the conquerors to practically make slaves of them in the West Indies by hypothecating the proceeds of their wretched labor after the dread famine of 1847, when the starving people welcomed the first ship, for no matter where, so long as it departed from stricken Ireland. It was in one of those fateful years that the cruel *London Times,* now appealing for Irish army recruits, commenting on the exodus from Ireland, crowding into the holds of sailing ships for the terrible voyage across the seas, gloatingly said: "The Celt is gone—gone with a vengeance. The Celt will soon be as rare

MICHAEL DAVITT

on the banks of the Shannon as the Red Indian on the banks of the Hudson."

The exiles, scattered to the four corners of the earth, more numerous and powerful than the remnants of Erin's isle, form the terrible Nemesis dogging the trail of John Bull, exposing his hypocrisy and preventing him from having the ear of the world.

CHAPTER XXIV

IRISH FEELING FAVORS GERMANY

THE true facts as to the state of Ireland are gradually being seen by observing Americans. And the feelings of those in America, who have ever really served the cause of Ireland, are manifestly for Germany in all parts of the United States.

Irish-Americans admire the Germans not alone because of our inveterate dislike of England, as is charged, but because we have learned to love the Germans as the best friends of Irish freedom in America. Through their societies, press, singing clubs and athletic bodies, they have manifested the deepest sympathies for our cause. Without their aid we could not have defeated the dangerous Anglo-American treaties in the United States Senate, as submitted by that arch-enemy of Irish nationality, Joseph Choate, former ambassador to England.

Of German blood in this country there are some 16,000,000, and nearly as many of Irish extraction—four times as great as all the inhabitants of Ireland.

The war news is unreliable because most all of it is dated from hostile sources—London, Paris and St. Petersburg. A kindly people, of high ideals, who have kept the peace of the world for forty years, when all other nations went to war, including our country, are set down in the news bureaus of the world as vile barbarians, cruel vandals, and destroyers of all things sacred in religion and art. Not all Americans are so credulous, for gradually thought is working itself clear in spite of misrepresentations as to Germany.

The present writer visited Ireland just before and for some time after the war. All the press dispatches in the Irish papers emanate from London. Much of the printed matter is "fake stuff," designed to gain recruits in the British army from the unwilling Irish. In the Hotel Gresham, Dublin, he chanced to see some notes of "German atrocities," a description of the "shooting of Sisters of Mercy by the German troops, the wilful killing of priests and sacrilege of sacred altars." This was printed in various Irish papers by a scoundrel who made it up in the Dublin hotel.

The writer had long been a strong supporter of Redmond, since the death of Parnell in 1895,

and had given him the support of his papers, but his eyes were quickly opened in Ireland. Redmond's machine is like any other political machine —in search of power and offices. The present government has largely contributed to that end. The Irish Party has lost its youth and vitality largely, and its usefulness was ended with the Land Act, which has worked well for Ireland. The social atmosphere of London is bad for good-intentioned patriots who fall for the social and commercial set who entertain and patronize them.

The time is ripe in Ireland for an uprising against the weak, compromising West British leaders who accepted a measure which will give them a few hundred local offices, if it ever does become a law, and who refuse to continue the struggle for liberty and nationhood. But Redmond is not another Robert Emmet or a Wolfe Tone. In spite of leaders, party, press and British power and gold, the recruiting in Ireland is a failure up to date.

We all know in this country that the Cathedral of Rheims was not destroyed, and the American press correspondents have told us the true story of Louvain. Friends of Redmond on this side are shocked at the shamelessness of his re-

cruiting speeches. The present writer submits the following stenographic report of a recent recruiting speech by Redmond, made in his home town of Waterford, appealing to the lads from the farms to go over and kill the Germans for England. He said:

"You must emulate the glory of the Volunteers of 1778 and 1782 and safeguard the Irish nation against the incoming Teutonic barbarian hordes. The work of recruiting has lagged and I am here to say that you are wanting in spirit. I have secured in Parnell Square suitable buildings where you vigorous young men will repair, and where you will be provided with arms and drilling instructors. I have started a new paper to oppose the *Irish National Volunteer*. I am putting in your hands to use against the Germans, the latest pattern rifles. I selected these rifles myself as the best suited for you after consulting the board of military experts. You will have the best weapons in the world. I have ordered the Norris tubes to put inside your rifles. I have just received another $30,000 from friends. The liberty of every Irishman is in peril if the Germans win the war. Have you become a degenerate race, funking in this war, refusing to en-

list, showing the white feather, proving yourselves cowards, for the first time in your history while the enemies of our religion are destroying the sacred altars, cathedrals and priests of our faith? Our heroic defenders of Ireland are led by an Irishman (Lord Kitchener), aye, bravely indeed have died on the battlefields of 1914 the boys from Tipperary, Waterford, Cork, Roscommon, Dublin and Wexford. I regret to see that the emigration of our young people again, and I say it mournfully, has set in to America. This is no time for deserters. To fight the German Huns and vandals, destroyers of our sacred churches, most effectively, we shall organize Irish brigades, officered by Irishmen."

If, as my correspondent writes, a thrill of horror passed through the breasts of many a reader of Irish newspapers, how shocking to those of us in America who have followed Redmond and know the good qualities of our German neighbors. There is a deep undercurrent of opposition among many young men, like the spirit of resentment which existed in Ireland during the Boer war. The censored press will not be able to keep from Ireland the news of the rebellion in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Cape Colony, or the

mutinies of Egypt or India and the failure to secure Irish troops from Canada and Australia.

Few Irishmen dare speak out from their hearts because of the fear of being imprisoned. But there are men in the Emerald Isle who dare to speak out and warn their countrymen against race suicide by recruiting and who refuse to believe the lies about Germany. They know that a war of aggression, on the part of denuded Ireland, for England, against Germany, has no warrant in their sad history, no justification in morals or practical benefits. They feel sorry for poor, stricken Belgium, but for every claimed atrocity in Belgium they can offer a thousand proven parallels. They have but to glance across their country and see the ruins of a thousand shrines, wrecked cathedrals, priests hunted down like wolves. Redmond's appeal for troops in Wexford, Limerick and Drogheda, for England, might have well awakened the tombs of those towns where lay the bones of many women and children massacred by the English conquerors. For the broken treaty of any country we offer the treaty of Limerick and the memory of Patrick Sarsfield. In spite of all suppression, the real voice of the patriots of Ireland has found expres-

sion in the *Dublin Leader, Irish National Volunteer, Roscommon Herald, The Kerryman, Wicklow People, Meath Chronicle, Galway Pilot, Mayo News, Leitrim Observer, Sligo Champion,* and *Leinster Leader.*

Now that the Roman Catholic bishops of Germany and others have exposed the efforts of the English to make the Irish hate the Germans, over false stories of atrocities in Belgium, and have been able by letter to inform the prelates of Ireland on the subject, a reaction has set in against Redmond as the principal author of these stories, and Cardinal Logue, primate of all Ireland, and Bishop O'Donnell of Raphoe, have greatly modified opinion on the alleged atrocities, and have stated they distrusted England in the promises of Home Rule. The bill as it stands is a feeble measure which would be laughed out of existence if offered any State in this country. Our territory of Alaska will be more free than Ireland under its purely local legislature.

POWER OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES

Students of Irish social phenomena have estimated that the sons and daughters of little Ireland have sent home, across the seas, anywhere

from $125,000,000 to $200,000,000 in the past seventy years. Ireland is the only country in the world denuded of its population. She had 9,000,000 in 1844 and only 4,000,000 now. But her emigrants mother large families. There are of Irish blood 13,000,000 in the United States, 1,500,000 in Canada, 1,200,000 in Australia, 2,000,000 in England, and many in Scotland, West Indies, South America and India. The island, poor, with few industries and little land for the people, received help from the exiles wherever settled. There is not an Irish family in America but can remember the times when the earnings on this side were shared with the less fortunate on the other side. In some parts of Ireland there is only one male left of each family. To this day the Christmas gifts and money going to Ireland is the wonder of the post-offices of the world. One who has been on a ship near Christmas never forgets the sight of the Irish mail.

The Dublin *Freeman* of December 26, 1914, writing of the Christmas mail from America, stated: "Yesterday there was dealt with the biggest American mail that has ever had to be handled by the post-office. In the mail were 5,700 American money orders at an average value of

$10 each. The record was made for the heaviest parcel mail received from America."

From charity to gifts for Ireland, a nation, has been an easy step. Millions have gone over for famine funds, evicted tenants, schools, churches, asylums, Land League, United Irish League, revolutionary movements, secret societies, monuments, patriotic and volunteer funds.

One newspaper in New York, the *Irish World,* has collected upward of $1,000,000 for Irish national movements in the past forty years. Until recently the funds to support the Parliamentary Party of '85 in the British House of Commons came from outside of Ireland.

Steadily the sentiment against Redmond's recruiting programme is mounting in America. His use of the last $30,000 sent him from America (the donors never dreaming their money was to be used for the benefit of a recruiting organization) has disgusted all the real Nationalists, and the day has passed when he will hope to get money from the old friends of the cause he has weakened. The only class of Irishmen supporting him, aside from a few, are those who are not informed, who think Home Rule is a reality, or others who are Anglo-American Tories at

heart, and some well-meaning clergymen, who cannot look away from Belgium to see the good that might come to Ireland with the vanishing power of England.

The largest and wealthiest Irish society in America is the Ancient Order of Hibernians with several hundred thousand members. This society owns a newspaper in Washington, *The Hibernian,* which has a larger circulation in America than the eight leading papers in Ireland. That journal, as an official organ, in its annual report, quotes from the official letter of Joseph McLaughlin of Philadelphia, who is national president of the Order. President McLaughlin says:

"The status of the Volunteer movement in Ireland has aroused some curiosity, and I have received many inquiries regarding the fund collected by our Order for the arming of this defensive force. I assure those who contributed that all moneys will be devoted to the purpose originally announced. The present attitude of Mr. Redmond and some of his colleagues is an innovation in the long struggle for Irish nationality for which I was not prepared—an innovation, too, which I cannot endorse. I do not believe

that the flower of Ireland's youth should be sacrificed in England's fight for European supremacy. England's treatment of Ireland forbids any such enthusiastic co-operation on the part of Ireland's sons. The spectacle of once-trusted leaders acting as recruiting sergeants for the British army cannot be viewed with any friendliness whatever by the Hibernians of America, and means will, therefore, be taken to prevent these misguided leaders from securing possession of the funds contributed by our Order. These funds must not be used for any movement not designed to strengthen Ireland—and Ireland alone."

Mr. Redmond's official organization in this country is the United Irish League, which, with Home Rule as its platform, was popular and prosperous. The writer was a member of it, but resigned on learning, when in Ireland, that Mr. Redmond was getting ready to use its powerful machinery and money in the recruiting work for the British army. The president of the United Irish League is Michael J. Ryan of Philadelphia, corporation counsel of the city, a worthy and able man, a fine lawyer, who made a phenomenal run for Governor of Pennsylvania. The League has done good work for Ireland, and Mr. Ryan is

placed in a hard position. He has confined his criticism to the history of Germany and England. In an eloquent speech, delivered in the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, Mr. Ryan defended Germany, attacked England, and showed how the German nation was being slandered and villified. No public meetings of the United Irish League have been held or money subscribed and paid since the outbreak of the war. Mr. Redmond appears not to have consulted his supporters in America or shown compunction in the destruction of the League. He must have known that no considerable body of Irish-Americans could continue an organization which was used for war purposes against the Germans and still hope to live on terms of amity with Germans as neighbors. He should have known that Germany is a long-time loyal friend of the United States, while England is the hereditary foe of this country, as every school boy is taught by the wars of 1776 and 1812, her interference in the Civil War in 1861, and the nearness to war with her in 1893 over Venezuela, when President Cleveland denounced her. Americans, who have studied history, know that England took advantage of the Civil War to eliminate our merchant marine, and

America is suffering greatly to-day for want of American-made ships or ships flying the American flag.

THE IRISH-AMERICAN PRESS

All of the leading and influential papers in America are now against Redmond. The *Irish World* of New York, the oldest journal of its kind in the world, which reaches every town, is conducting a brilliant campaign against his policy. As the *Irish World* has been his most powerful supporter, the change is significant. It has suspended collecting funds for Ireland after forty years of marvellous success.

A powerful and ably edited journal is the *Gaelic-American* of New York. Those of us who have been foolish enough to fancy that Redmond might live to be another Emmet, are forced to speak reverently now of a misunderstood veteran, who has suffered much criticism and misrepresentation by the majority of his countrymen.

Redmond has acted exactly as the discerning editor of the *Gaelic-American* said he would, in the event of a crisis, and as we said he wouldn't.

T. P. O'Connor, M.P., in his "History of Parnell," gives the credit for founding the Irish

national movement in America to the editor of the *Gaelic-American*. This journal has raised a fund of some $31,000 in a few weeks, which you may be sure Redmond will not secure.

The *Irish Standard* of Minneapolis, the *Leader* of San Francisco, *Union* and *Times* of Buffalo, *Hibernian* of Boston, *Chronicle* of Albany, *Independent* of Butte, *Light* of Scranton, *Sun* of Syracuse, which are undoubtedly the influential newspapers in their localities, making a specialty of Irish news, are solidly opposed to Redmond's leading the peasants of Ireland to slaughter fields.

The societies in America which contributed $400,000 to preserve the Irish language have unanimously condemned John Redmond. And it may be remarked here that the only college professors in the world, outside of Ireland and America, who have studied the ancient Irish tongue, are professors at Bonn and Heidelburg, in Germany. The culture of Germany has long embraced the Irish language and helped to save it from the fate of the dead languages. One of our societies, not long since, sent $50,000 to Washington to establish the Gaelic chair in the National University. That society repudiated the recruiting of the Irish against Germany. The

united Irish societies of New York, Chicago, and many other cities have held vast meetings, where the cheers of an aroused people have sounded like the rattle of musketry, and the reverberations of these gatherings have reached even press-censored Ireland.

Irish observers, scattered over the globe, have long noticed that the advance of German commerce and the superior efficiency and thoroughness of the Germans has clearly roused the hate and jealousy of Britain, whose title of mistress of the seas is threatened.

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

"Ireland a nation—free and independent—is the hope and the dream of her children scattered over the globe."

CHAPTER XXV

A WORD FOR AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

ASIDE from the evidently false despatches dated Petrograd and London, we are unable to secure authentic information as to the state of the dual monarchy. The leading Catholic review in the United States, *America,* in its issue of January 9, 1915, says:

VITALITY OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Few Americans, from the perusal of their daily press, can reaize the great vitality which has been displayed by the Dual Monarchy in the present struggle.

The enormous war loan raised by it was mainly the voluntary contribution of the class of people whose hard-earned savings were the result of personal labor or of modest business and agricultural undertakings. Such a circumstance demonstrates the strength of that national spirit which had long been obscured by the pettiness of party politics. It likewise proves that economically the country was far more sound than even its best friends had believed. The *Kolnische Volkszeitung* admits that, considering the great difference in commerce and industry between the two countries, Austria-Hungary can compare favorably in her generosity with Germany herself. Unwillingness to make

signal sacrifices is ascribed only to the great capitalists of the country, whose offerings have, in proportion, fallen far short of those made by the middle classes. It has become evident, from the successive revelations brought about by this war, that little was understood by the world at large of the real spirit of the people, their love of country and their loyalty, which has in a moment of national peril united all the various races into one strong nation. Remarkable, too, have been the financial offerings made for proper hospital service and other smiliar needs of the country by the Catholic episcopate. To this must be added the fact that every Austrian Catholic regards the war against Russia as in reality a crusade carried on for the Catholic Church to preserve Europe from Russian orthodoxy.

American opinion, which was profoundly ignorant of the case for Austria-Hungary, has been greatly modified by the publication of Mr. Ludwig's book "Austria-Hungary and the War." The New York *Times* has just given a long notice to this very informing work, in which the writer's fairness is admitted. Americans now know that Servia was a mere outpost of Russia, and that the Servian propaganda, which would have wrecked the dual monarchy, was backed by Russian influence and Russian money. The

Hapsburg Empire is in no danger of collapsing through financial disorder. "The people can look with confidence upon the economic fitness of the country to conduct this war," says Dr. Rudolph Sieghart, president of the strongest financial institute in the empire. "Austria-Hungary's national wealth is prepared to meet all and every vicissitude that this war may bring. What was weak and unstable has fallen off long since on account of the repeated crises connected with the Balkan wars. What was left is the powerful stock, and this stock is healthy and able to weather all storms." Moreover, according to Mr. Ludwig's first-hand reports, important factories are running night and day turning out supplies for the troops, while many other factories which manufacture necessities of life are also busy. Coal mines are producing from 70 to 80 per cent. of the normal output. The iron industry maintains about 75 per cent. of its normal business. "War credit banks" have been established to keep smaller businesses supplied with credit, and public works in Vienna have been continued as in normal times. It is very remarkable that the savings banks show an increase in deposits over the corresponding period last

year. Schools are going on as usual in Vienna and the theatres are kept open. The writer of "Austria-Hungary and the War" makes no brag, and all who have observed Austrian-Hungarian unity and power of resistance must agree with his modest claim that the venerable empire he represents "has stood the test very well." The test has revealed more than political unity and economic stability: it has shown the extraordinary regard the diverse populations of the Hapsburg Empire have for the administration. This is natural, as we can perceive when we examine the condition of the Poles, for instance, under Austrian Government. Even if the present Home Rule Bill were put into operation, if it conferred ten times as many powers on the people of Ireland than it confers at present, the Irish would not have as much liberty or as much power for development as Austrian Poland has enjoyed for generations.

CHAPTER XXVI

CONCLUSION

THE American Eagle is screaming with wrath as it becomes plain that England dominates the high seas and directs where American ships shall pause or move. The British Admiralty controls the waters of three-fourths of the world. The British Government ordains what shall or shall not be carried of American products in American bottoms. It is February, 1915; the war has lasted six months. The irritation in this country against England grows apace. Having the power on the ocean, her disregard of the rights of neutrals is keeping the United States poor.

Marvellous indeed is the reaction of American public sentiment within six months. Hands are across the sea, but they are now stretched forth to the invincible Germans and their Austrian allies. The change is noted among different classes and even in high circles. Public sentiment in America is steadily drifting and the drift is altogether against England. The moving picture men in New York and Chicago note the de-

cline in the earlier enthusiasm of the audiences for the Allies. Policemen who have been watching the crowds that surround the war bulletin boards have informed the writer that a clear majority of the watchers are not in sympathy with England. There are few calls for the erstwhile popular song, "'Tis a long way to Tipperary.'" The German bazaar in the Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York, in two weeks cleared $325,000, while the Prince of Wales Relief Fund, on the American side, is proving a complete failure. The circulation of the new journal *The Fatherland* has increased, in three months, from 30,000 to 120,000. The morning and evening *Staats-Zeitung* have doubled their sales. There is a notable increase in the receipts of the Irish-American journals. And the journals written in English which treat the German side fairly find some consolation in the improvement of their circulation and advertising receipts. Not an Irish-American newspaper has been found to print the war letters of T. P. O'Connor, M.P., long a favorite with this class of readers. Numerous college professors have come out and, encouraged by numbers, are now engaged in defending Germany. The Teutonic publicists are in

great demand from ocean to ocean. Our Irish guests who oppose Redmond continue to receive a warm welcome.

There remains not the least question that in the second month of the year 1915 a clear majority of the American people, quietly or openly, favors Germany against England, while feeling profoundly sorry for the state of Belgium and France.

The reasons for this extraordinary but certain change in American public sentiment is due to the following principal reasons:

1. The discoveries that England poisoned the German news wells.

2. The proof that the stories of German atrocities are false.

3. The feeling that England caused "hard times" by bottling up our commerce.

4. The evidence that the attempt to starve Germany, which failed, starves the United States.

5. Pride in the American flag and national sorrow over its humiliation on the ocean.

6. The degrading spectacle of British warships guarding and watching the entrance to American harbors.

7. The popular belief that the products of

American farms and factory should be held as sacred on the sea as on land.

8. That God owns the ocean—not England.

9. Admiration on the part of Americans for pluck, courage and skill; they feel Germany is the underdog, fighting against heavy odds.

10. Faith and confidence in the solid virtues and patriotism of our neighbors of German blood.

In addition, the growing belief in the United States is that Germany-Austria is steadily and surely winning the war. The disastrous defeats of the Russians at Tannenburg and on the Vistula, where they lost 80,000 prisoners alone to the Germans, and the rapidity and sureness with which the German armies drove the Russians out of Poland, their approach to Warsaw, and their wonderful support of the Austrians, render it certain that Russia not only will be utterly unable to reach Berlin, but cannot hope to succeed in an invasion of Germany. The further Russia gets away from her base of supplies the less her chances of success. In railway communications and commissaries' supplies the Russians are inferior and unable to cope with the matchless Germans in these essentials of succesful warfare. It was Napoleon who said an army travels on its belly.

The superior preparations, skill and efficiency of the Germans offset the vast hordes of Russians; brains, not numbers, will win. And the Turkish menace in the South creates a diversion of troops and war munitions for the benefit of Germany. The commerce of Russia is paralyzed by the closing of the Baltic Sea by Germany and the control of the Dardanelles (the entrance to the Black Sea) by Turkey.

The American public appreciates that the war dispatches dated Petrograd are mostly inventions or gross exaggerations and sent out to bolster up the cause of the Allies. Again and again the communications dated Paris have been found to contain false news of victories and to give scarcely any reference to the failure of the French armies to make any notable advance in three months. The victory of the German army at the battle of Soissons is an exploit worthy to be compared in military importance with the battle of Fair Oaks in the American Civil War. London has belittled the magnitude of this great achievement of General Von Kluck and his seasoned troops led by the Bavarians. The news, direct from London, is as unreliable as that reported daily from Petrograd and Paris, as numerous confirmed

events have shown. The United States military experts state, privately of course, that the French forces sustained a fearful reverse at Soissons and that the tide of fortune has plainly been turning against the Allies both in the eastern and western theaters of war.

Contrasted with the inventions of London, Paris and Petrograd, the Berlin military and naval dispatches are models of brevity, clearness and modesty. The German authorities never report a victory or an advance until they are absolutely sure they have won one. The indications are that Germany holds at least three prisoners for every one captured by the Allies. Should this average be maintained for a considerable time, there would be little doubt that the successful termination of the war will be with Germany-Austria.

When Lord Kitchener brings up his million raw recruits they will be confronted by seasoned veterans of a hundred battlefields and a soldiery who have slept all winter in trenches. Napoleon Bonaparte said that he preferred one regiment of troops who had passed a winter in the field to three regiments of inexperienced conscripts.

Observing Americans are contrasting the soli-

darity, harmony and common purpose of the people of Germany with the divided counsels, rebellions and mutinies which are observed in the British Empire. All Germans, whether in Germany or America, believe firmly in the justice of the German cause. In England several of the leading members of the Cabinet resigned rather than endorse England's unjust declaration of war on Germany. The most long-standing friend of the United States in English public life is John Morley, the biographer of Gladstone. He withdrew from the British Government along with Secretary Trevelyan and John Burns, the labor member from Battersea, London, who resigned as Minister of Public Works, giving up a salary of $25,000 per annum. Notable protests were made by Keir Hardie, Ramsay McDonald and Lawrence Guinnell, of County Cork, Ireland, members of the British Parliament. The suppression of meetings and newspapers continues in Ireland. The country, as has been said, is really in a state of martial law. Vessels are inspected carefully in all Irish ports lest they may be found running rifles and machine guns. Death is a solemn and terrible event everywhere, but no people take such interest in the funerals of their

dead as the Irish. Their dead lie on the battle-fields, and the mothers cannot see their children in their coffins. They are not to be buried in the consecrated ground of Ireland. The shibboleth of Home Rule after the war has an empty sound for broken-hearted mothers. The letters from Michael, Patrick, Malachi or Dennis in the trenches or hospitals are sad reading. The Irish have no heart for this war of aggression, in the creation of which they had no part, so that many of them feel like mercenaries. The Germans are buoyed up by the constant thought that if they must perish, they die in a war of defense and to save the Fatherland.

There are seditions in Egypt that make the British hold on the Suez Canal insecure. In South Africa the rebellious Boers have united with the Germans and for four months have been able to hold the field. Private letters from India show that the British troops in that land will be required to crush various insurrections, and there is little likelihood of a very large number of Indian troops being sent to the continent. Recruiting in Canada among the Irish Nationalists is a complete failure. Letters from officers of the principal Irish societies contain the interesting

information that scarcely 500 Irish Nationalists have enlisted from that country. Similar reports are now being verified and accepted as true from Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. There is an insurrection in Morocco that has put the French Empire in North Africa into grave peril.

All in all, the British Empire and her French and Russian allies are having many troubles the effects of which is gradually impressing Americans. Advices from Italy as late as February, 1915, show that public sentiment is favorable to Germany, and there is no likelihood of Italy being drawn into the conflict to fight on the side of the Allies. If British diplomacy should prevail on Roumania to espouse their cause, that country will be offset by Bulgaria, which is ready to strike. Persia has been delivered to Russia by England and has revolted:

The *London Leader* says:

Britain is now supposed to be the champion of small peoples, yet we have the example of Persia before our eyes to-day. Persia, whose independence was guaranteed by Britain and who has been swallowed by Russia! The neutrality and independence of Korea was guaranteed by Britain, France and Russia, but Korea was seized by Japan and her Queen murdered by Japanese agents. Morocco was divided between

France and Spain with the connivance of Britain. Britain, like every other nation, breaks her treaties when convenient to herself.

Russia is facing a revolution in Finland, there is widespread disaffection in Russian Poland, revolts are under way in the Mohammedan possessions of the Russian Empire, in Bokhara, Turkestan and Chiva. The oppressed Jews are opposed to the war. The most sanguinary battles of the war are being fought in territory that has large Jewish population, so the world may see the extermination of most of the Jewish race in Eastern Europe, where the majority of those unfortunate people live. A movement has been started in Afghanistan, to whose borders Russia is diverting troops, while the Turks have an army of 600,000 men assailing Russia in Trans-Caucasia. While the Allies are numerically superior, they are confronted with numerous internal and racial troubles, which have increased the obstacles to their progress in both the eastern and western theatres of war. These serious diversions at the end of the first act of the world's tragedy have been hidden from Ireland, but the news is gradually percolating through. The news has greatly interfered with the recruiting in Ireland, where

conscription is threatened. Many young men, fearing a forced draft into the army, are leaving the country.

FINALE

FREEDOM for Ireland—an Irish Republic—is by no means an idle or wild dream should the war terminate in favor of Germany. Then the distribution of power in Europe, Asia and Africa would be rearranged. The maps of the world have been changed by the outcome of wars. The opportunity for the creation of the present United States of America presented itself when England was exhausted by a long war with France. The British Empire, like the Roman Empire, Carthage and all world-wide dominions must perish in the fulness and mutability of time. The old myth of British supremacy passes away with the defeat of England, overpopulated, and with vast numbers of her ill-fed families living in single rooms in crowded cities. Liberty for Ireland can only be won through the triumphs of Germany-Austria. Then and then only will the Republic of Ireland be a glorious reality and the flag of green and gold wave on the seas and over the Emerald Isle.

God bless Germany! God save Ireland!

POSTSCRIPT

SWAN SONGS OF SUPPRESSED IRISH NATIONALIST NEWSPAPERS

The following important articles appeared in the last issues of the suppressed papers *Sinn Fein, The Irish Volunteer,* and *The Irish Worker.* In each case they are editorials. They were written by men who had the menace of suppression before them, and who, for that reason, are anxious to give a complete expression to their view of the situation. The three writers are amongst the most able and the most responsible men in Ireland. They are:

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, editor of *Sinn Fein* and its predecessor, *The United Irishman.* He has the reputation of being the most forcible and the best informed writer on the Irish Press.

PROFESSOR EOIN MACNEILL, Professor of Early Irish History in the National University of Ireland and Vice-President of the Gaelic League. It was owing to his initiative that the Irish Volunteers were first started.

JAMES CONNOLLY, the well-known Labor Leader. He is the writer of a remarkable study in Irish History "Labor in Irish History."

The first article appeared in the last issue of *Sinn Fein,* the second in the last issue of *The Irish Volunteer,* and the third in the last issue of *The Irish Worker.*

THE "SINN FEIN" ARTICLE

Even the Solicitors' Apprentices' Debating Society has been pressed into the service of the recruiting agents. Last week it opened for the session, with an auditorial address on "The Neutrality of Belgium," an appropriate subject enough when we have resigned ourselves to the creed that the proper topics for discussion among young men in Ireland are extraneous to Ireland. But the traditional practice of inviting speakers of diverse views on the Auditor's thesis was departed from, and the platform was as thoroughly packed as if Sergeant MacSweeney superintended the operation. The speakers were all carefully chosen because they could be trusted to say the right thing for the crimps, viz., that England was at war because the neutrality of Belgium had been violated.

WHY ENGLAND IS AT WAR

Now England is not at war because the neutrality of Belgium has been violated. She is at war to destroy Germany in pursuance of her invariable and avowed Continental policy—dating from the days of Elizabeth, carried to its first success by Cromwell, and to its ultimate victory by Pitt—that no Power on the Continent shall be permitted to become predominant, and that when any Power threatens to do so England must form a combination of other Powers to crush it. The combination of Europe against Louis XIV, and against Napoleon are the classic examples of this policy. The combination of France, Turkey, and Sardinia against Russia in 1854 was its last illustration

until the present war. But in every war of England's with this object she advertises another reason as the cause of a war. She fought Louis XIV and Napoleon on the same pretexts of freedom and altruism she puts forward to-day.

THE MISSION OF KING EDWARD VII

England has followed exactly the same method in the case of Kaiser Wilhelm she followed in the case of Napoleon. She has ringed his country round with enemies. In 1907 we pointed out in *Sinn Fein* that the "mission" of King Edward, "the Peacemaker," accompanied by Sir Edward Grey, through Europe was not to make peace, but to create a general Continental alliance against Germany. Whether we were right when we said the mission was one of war while all the remainder of the Press both here and in Great Britain pretended or really believed the mission of the two Edwards to be one of peace can now be decided.

France fell easily, despite the fact that the Nationalist French papers opposed the Entente, and pointed out what was the truth, that England designed to use France as a pawn in her game.

Russia saw her opportunity and seized it. Before she came in she exacted a price from England, which England reluctantly paid—the chief part of that price was Persia—a country England was bound by her honor to protect. Her honor! Persia was dissected alive, that Russia might aid England against Germany.

THE CONGO ATROCITIES AGITATION

An attempt was made to drag Japan, Belgium and

the United States into the world-alliance. Japan came in to play her own hand in the Pacific. Belgium, under King Leopold, wavered. Then an agitation was started in England—inspired by the government—against Belgium—the Congo Atrocities agitation. King Leopold, by no means a reputable person in private life, but at least as reputable as the then King of England, was painted a monster of lust and cruelty, and suggestions were thrown out that the Belgians owed it to civilization and humanity—it is always civilization that stirs the heart of England when she prepares for war against a rival—to force the disgraceful Leopold to abdicate. His successor, an infinitely better man in private life, had little of Leopold's ability, and practically none of his knowledge of English statecraft. As far back as 1912 we indicated in *Sinn Fein* that Belgium was in the toils of England. She had collared King Albert, and persuaded him that his country's future lay with herself and France.

THE FRUSTRATED ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

The effort to secure the United States was sustained and vigorous. The programme was to arrange an entente, which could be forced, as in the case of France, into an alliance. The Irish-Americans were the great obstacle in the way. Home Rule was tried as the bait to neutralize their hostility. Mr. James Bryce, who had been Chief Secretary for Ireland, was sent to America for the express purpose of neutralizing if he could not gain over the Irish. He had the influence

of Messrs. Dillon, T. P. O'Connor, and Redmond behind him. He was beaten—hopelessly beaten—by an anti-Anglo-American alliance entente between the Germans and Irish-Americans. That is the sole reason why the United States has escaped being dragged into the war.

THE TURKISH REVOLUTIONS

In Turkey England made efforts second only to her efforts in the United States, and the revolution and counter-revolution which for a few years convulsed that country were due to her attempt to acquire a mastery over the policy of the Porte. In this case, Germany totally defeated her, owing largely to the fact that the strongest personality in Turkey—Enver Bey—knew both England and Germany thoroughly, and utterly distrusted the former, while he admired the latter. The war against Turkey in the Balkans was then promoted, but its developments utterly upset British calculations. The end saw Turkey firmly attached to Germany, while Bulgaria, on whom England had always reckoned, became, to an extent, anti-British.

THE DETACHMENT OF ITALY

Toward Italy and Austria the policy of England was to detach them from their ally. In the case of Austria, there was never any hope in English statecraft to range her among Germany's foes, but there was a real hope of keeping her away from Germany's side. Here Russian and English diplomacy clashed. Russia wanted Austria in the war, as her designs are

far more upon the territory of that empire than upon German. A war against Germany, with Austria out, would have kept Russia and her cat's-paws out of the Adriatic and Ægean—that is, the Mediterranean—and left a Great Power on her flank, which Russia knew England would utilize when the day of the Anglo-Russian struggle came. It was with Austria, therefore, Russia was determined to be primarily at war, and England yielded the point. In the case of Italy, English influence and the national character made her policy easily successful. Italy had been preserved from attack, and given thirty years of peace in which to develop herself by her alliance with Austria and Germany. When the time came to pay her debt, she repudiated it. She was the partner of the Triple Alliance who gained everything by the alliance. When the time came for her to act her part, she discovered that Austria, with whom she had allied herself for thirty years, was extremely unpopular with her people. Here England had triumphed. The Triple Alliance was deserted by the partner who it had relied upon in the Mediterranean, and Germany and Austria were left to face alone a military and naval combination apparently invincible and irresistible.

HOW ENGLAND'S WORLD-WIDE PRESS AGENCY WORKS

A pretext—a pretext which represented England as fighting the battle of the oppressed against the oppress-

or—was necessary, as it is always desirable for England in her wars. To defame those with whom she is engaged in war in order to prevent any possibility of sympathy in neutral nations, which might develop into armed intervention, is a cardinal point of English war-policy. Thus when she designed her attack upon the Transvaal Republic, which owing to its mineral riches had become commercially and politically stronger in South Africa than the English colonies of the Cape, Natal and Rhodesia, and therefore must be destroyed, she began with an agitation against the oppression of the uitlanders, or foreign residents. The fact that there was no oppression of the uitlanders made no difference. The present writer was an uitlander in the Transvaal at the time, and neither experienced nor even heard of any uitlander who had experienced oppression, but England had a press and a press agency with which she could speak every hour to the remotest corners of the world. The Boers had a press whose voice, like the voice of Ireland, was too feeble to be heard outside the confines of the Boer territory. When she had invested herself with the desired appearance of rescuing the oppressed from the oppressor, she fell upon the little republic, declaring publicly to Europe by the mouth of her Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, that "she sought no gold-fields and sought no territory," and ravaged the Transvaal and its gallant little ally, the Free State, with fire and sword, seizing the gold-fields and the territory she had pledged herself not to seek.

SERVIA AND BELGIUM

Obviously a pretext of defending the oppressor from the oppressed could not be found in the case of Servia—a country whose throne was reared on the most cowardly regicide in modern history and whose government, as every politician in Europe knows, has operated by private assassination against its opponents. The murder of the heir to the Crown of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was the culmination of the Servian policy of assassination, and if Austro-Hungary had failed to put it beyond the power of Servia to continue her dastardly campaign, she would have ceased to exist as a Power. The pretext of "Little Servia" would have deceived no nation—for every nation in Europe knows what Servian methods are. But some pretext of weakness oppressed by strength had to be found, and England found it in the case of Belgium—poor little Belgium, whose neutrality had been violated. Belgium and Holland are little states whose neutrality the Great Powers were supposed to respect. Obviously, such states must rely upon the good faith of these Powers, and leave their frontiers unguarded, or else they must guard them impartially. Holland has done this. She has fortified her country indifferently against attack from any of her neighbors. Belgium did not do so. She fortified her German frontiers, and left her French frontier unfortified, and her English frontier—the sea—exposed, except at Antwerp, to anything the British fleet might care to attempt upon it.

We shall leave out of consideration this fact and the portfolio "Intervention Anglais-Belgique," which was found in the archives of the Belgian General Staff, dating back as far as 1906, and examine from her own admitted official documents England's claim that she entered this war on Belgium's behalf. England has officially published her case under the title of "Great Britain and the European Crisis." In passing, our Irish Imperialists may note that, although the official description of this kingdom is Great Britain and Ireland, the name of Ireland is dropped out of the official document published by the Foreign Office.

STORY OF CROOKED BRITISH DIPLOMACY

On July 30th Sir Edward Grey wrote declining neutrality on the basis of Germany respecting French territory as distinct from French colonies. Belgium was mentioned in this dispatch, but as a minor consideration. The following day (dispatch No. 111) Sir Edward Grey telegraphed to the British Ambassador in Berlin that, if France became involved, England would be drawn in, so he (Sir Edward Grey) had informed the German Ambassador in London. Belgium was not even alluded to by the British Foreign Minister. On the same day, however, he addressed to the French and German governments, through their Ambassadors, a formal inquiry as to whether they would respect the neutrality of Belgium, so long as no other Power violated it. At the same time, he telegraphed to the British Minister at Brus-

sels to inform the Belgian Government of his inquiry to France and Germany, and to say, "I assume that the Belgian Government will maintain to the utmost of their power this neutrality," and that "an early reply is desired." Observe that these three latter telegrams were sent out after Sir Edward Grey had informed the German Ambassador that if, not Belgium, but France, were involved, England would be drawn in. Why had he not raised the question of Belgium's neutrality then, on which England now professes to have gone to war?

THE GERMAN OFFER

On the following day, August 1st, the German Ambassador in London inquired (dispatch 123) whether, if Germany pledged herself not to violate Belgian neutrality, England would engage to remain neutral. England's Foreign Minister declined to give that engagement. "I did not think," he writes, "that we could give a promise of neutrality on that condition alone."

Thus while we have England pretending to-day through her press, her platform, her pulpit, and her Parliament that she went into the war to preserve the neutrality of Belgium, we have here the evidence of her own officially published dispatches, refusing to guarantee Germany that she would remain neutral, if Germany guaranteed to respect Belgian neutrality; and, while she was rejecting the proposal of Germany to leave Belgium out of it, her Minister at Brussels was,

on the instructions of the British Government (dispatch 115), urging Belgium to uphold her neutrality "to the utmost of its power," i. e., by opposing armed force to Germany.

Read side by side, what a story these dispatches reveal. Belgium ignored in the discussion between the German Ambassador and the British Foreign Minister on the morning of July 31st. Belgium is telegraphed to in the evening by the British Government to "uphold its neutrality to the utmost of its power." Germany refused the next day a pledge from England that she will be neutral if Belgian neutrality is respected—refused even an engagement though Germany suggests that in addition to respecting Belgian neutrality, French territorial integrity both at home and abroad will be respected. "If you," says England in effect to Germany, "if you guarantee not to attack France through Belgium, not to use your fleet against the French Northern coast, not to impair French integrity, not to seize French colonies, why then we will do what we consider best for ourselves. You must give us guarantees—we will give you no promise, must keep our hands free" (dispatch 123).

BELGIAN NEUTRALITY "NOT A DECISIVE FACTOR"

The tragi-comedy was really played out in forty-eight hours. On the day that Belgium was exhorted to assert herself against Germany by force of arms, the French Ambassador was informed by Sir Edward Grey that the preservation of Belgian neutrality might

be an important factor, but not a decisive factor, in determining England's attitude. This was in the same interview in which Sir Edward Grey thrice declined M. Cambon's appeal definitely to inform Germany that England would side with France if hostilities broke out, an assurance which M. Cambon declared would avert war. England kept, as Sir Edward Grey boasted, "her hands free" until war had broken out between Russia and France with Germany and until Belgium, relying upon English aid that never came, entered the war. Then when they were all in—when it seemed that England had only to throw in her weight to crush Germany—then England entered the war. And then it was she entered it on a pretext, which we have shown from her own state papers to be false—the preservation of Belgian neutrality—that neutrality she told France was not a decisive factor—that she told Germany she would not engage herself to stand aside even though Germany guaranteed it.

THE SACRIFICE OF BELGIUM

Belgium was sacrificed, but not by the Power that knocked at its gate, and asked permission to pass through, not by the Power that, when Liege had fallen to its invincible guns, wrote to the Belgian Government in the hour of victory: "The fortress of Liege has been taken by assault after a courageous defence. The German Government regrets that such bloody encounters should have occurred. It is only by reason of the military measures of France that it has been forced

to take the grave determination of entering Belgium and the Belgian army has in heroic resistance against great superiority maintained the honor of its arms in the most prilliant fashion, and the German Government prays his Majesty the King and the Belgian Government to avert from Belgium the further horrors of war. The German Government is ready for any agreement with Belgium. Once more Germany offers her solemn assurance that she has not been actuated by any intention to appropriate Belgian territory and that such intention is far from her."

Belgium was sacrificed by the Power that urged her into armed resistance to the violation of her neutrality, while it at the same time was declaring to France that Belgian neutrality was not a decisive factor, and declining the offer of Germany to respect Belgian neutrality if England herself remained neutral. Belgium was sacrificed by the Power that impelled her to armed resistance in the belief that England and France would come to her aid and drive the invader from her soil—and that left her to bear the brunt of war unaided for three weeks, while the British navy swept German commerce from the seas.

THE MEPHISTOPHELES AMONG NATIONS

We are sorry for Belgium—the dupe of a diplomacy that has made puppets of far stronger and more experienced Powers. We have never underestimated English statecraft. It is subtle and dextrous beyond the statecraft of France and Germany in times of

peace. The slow, steady coiling of the web around Germany from 1906; the mobilization of the fleet at Spithead on pretence of a review days before war was dreamed of; the steady forcing of France by maneuvring of Belgium into war without committing England until the anti-German combination had gone too far to back out; and then the setting up of the false pretext that she intervened to defend the neutrality of Belgium—these things we can admire, while we detest; as we may admire, while we detest, the subtlety of Mephistopheles. And as we note the successful unfolding of her evil craft we knew what England's first act of war would be—to shut off Germany from communication with the neutral world until she had poisoned its ear against Germany by her picture of Germany as a wanton tyrant attacking, in breach of faith, the integrity and independence of a little country, and had won a world-sympathy by depicting herself as the peace-desirous Power roused to war by her indignation and her honor.

We knew the first act of war on England's part would be to cut the German cable. And that was what England did. Thus for two weeks her powerful press and the press of half the world which consciously and sub-consciously is under its thrall, echoed her charges against Germany and the Germans until half the world almost believed that the people, who in government, science, industry, and education surpass all other people, and who in art and literature are equal to any other, were really savages whose nature and whose

acts called for their extirpation from this world and their eternal punishment in the next.

WHEN PRO-GERMAN IS A TITLE OF HONOR FOR AN IRISHMAN

Sinn Fein has ever been and ever will be pro-Irish and pro-nothing else. While Irishmen have a country denied its national, its political, and its economic liberties, no other nation's right or wrongs can have claim to their exertions. But if to defend the remnant of Irish manhood from being hurried to destruction in this war, planned by England, provoked by England, and intended to serve only England; and if to vindicate from the monstrous calumnies that Ireland's centuried calumniator and oppressor is pouring out upon a great nation and a noble people, is to be a pro-German, then we accept the title as one of honor and worthy of an Irishman to wear.

THE "IRISH WORKERS'" ARTICLE

"The Earl of Halsbury said that in deference to the wishes of the government he would not press his objections, but he thought the proposal of this bill was the most unconstitutional thing that had ever happened."

The foregoing sentence is from a report of a debate in the House of Lords on the "Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act," on Friday, November 27th. This precious act gives the military authorities power to ar-

rest civilians and try them by courts-martial, sets aside all the ordinary safeguards of civil liberty, and empowers these courts-martial to inflict the death penalty or any lesser sentence. In other words, and plainer language, it establishes Martial Law as the law of the land, and places the lives and liberties of all in the power of a military unaccustomed to the restraints of civilized courts or justice, and ignorant of the laws of evidence.

A German, a French, an Italian, or an Austrian Government would have openly and honorably sought to attain those ends by a declaration of Martial Law; the hypocritical and cowardly gang of assassins who control the government of the British Empire seek to achieve the same objects by clandestinely and treacherously destroying civil liberties whilst professing a desire to safeguard and protect them. This is but a fitting culmination to all the anti-democratic and liberty-hating diplomacy which brought about this war, and now seeks to destroy every agency which would help to unmask its injurious conspiracy against mankind, or tell the truth about the terrors that accompany it. As a result of this act there is no longer liberty in Ireland—liberty of speech, liberty of associations, liberty of the press, liberty of the subject are all gone. No longer may a man or woman demand to be tried by his or her peers in an open court room, before their eyes and hearing of his or her fellows. At any time any man or woman may be arrested, day or night, and dragged off in secret, to be tried in secret, and con-

demned and assassinated in secret by the hired assassins of the British Empire.

Aye, there is no break in the continuity of the methods of British Imperial Rule in Ireland. Dublin Castle is always Dublin Castle, the same at all times, loathesome, lying, hypocitical, MURDEROUS.

Of course we have the word of this government that no death sentences will be carried out until Parliament meets, and of course we all know what the word of the government is worth. Belgium knows it now, knows that this government pledged its honor to maintain Belgian neutrality, and then manœuvred to leave Belgium irrevocably committed to sink or swim with one side in this struggle in which she was supposed to remain neutral. Ireland knows it, knows that the Liberal Government pledged its word to give Home Rule to all Ireland, then pledged its word to Carson not to force Home Rule upon all Ireland, pledged its words to place a representative of labor upon the Commission into the Dublin Police Outrages, then deliberately breaks its solemn word, and appointed no such representatives; pledged its word to appoint an independent Commission of Inquiry into the Bachelor's Walk Massacre, and yet declared in Parliament beforehand that the said Commission would exonerate the uniformed murderers of peaceful citizens. Aye, Ireland knows the value of a government promise, as our fathers knew it in the past!

But let "Messieurs, the Assassins," beware. There are in Ireland to-day many scores of thousands of

earnest men neither committed to the British Empire nor to the cause of revolution. For the most part these are men who, wearied of the chaos of Irish politics, gave a grudging adhesion to the parliamentary attempt to secure some form of Home Rule as an organized legal expression of Irish nationhood. Loyalty to the party entrusted with that task has kept these men silent and inactive even whilst that party was betraying their trust and besmirching their ideals. Always the hope persisted that eventually Home Rule would come, and then these traitors would be punished by an outraged people. But if the British Government once more throws off the mask of constitutionalism and launches its weapons of repression against those who dare to differ with it, if once more it sets in motion its jails, its courts-martial, its scaffolds, then the last tie that binds those men to the official Home Rule gang will snap. On that day we will see once again all the best and brightest in Ireland definitely arraying itself on the side of revolution, fully realizing that freedom and the British Empire cannot co-exist in this country.

The constitutional mask, the simulacrum of civil liberty still paralyzes the activities and holds the hand of many a true Irish patriot, as the boasted Freedom of Contract of the Wage-system still hides from many a worker the reality of his slavery. But once let the government drop that mask, or abandon that pretence of civil liberty, and then the result will see such a resurrection of Irish revolutionary spirit such as has not been seen for generations.

A resurrection! Aye, out of the grave of the first Irish man or woman murdered for protesting against Ireland's participation in this thrice-accursed war there will arise anew the Spirit of Irish Revolution.

"The graves of those murdered for
Freedom bear seed for Freedom
Which the winds carry afar and re-sow."

Yes, my lords and gentlemen, our cards are all on the table! If you leave us at liberty we will kill your recruiting, save our poor boys from your slaughter-house, and blast your hopes of empire. If you strike at, imprison, or kill us, out of our prisons or graves we will still evoke a spirit that will thwart you, and, mayhap, raise a force that will destroy you.

We defy you! Do your worst!

Whether this death sentence upon Irish prisoners of these new courts-martial will or will not be carried out will depend, not upon the plighted honor or solemn assurances of Cabinet Ministers already foresworn and discredited even in their own country, nor yet upon any action of the degenerate Irish members of Parliament who sat still and helped to destroy the constitutional rights of which they prate so loudly; nor yet upon the British Labor members who, like all apostates, are readiest to stab and destroy all those who remain true to that ideal of democratic freedom they have deserted and dishonored. No, the question of life and death will depend solely upon the temper of the people of Ireland. If they remain dumb, nerve-

less, lacking in intrepidity, quivering too mutely in the leash laid upon them by the apostles of "caution and restraint," then the blow will fall in increasing severity and ferocity, arrest will follow arrest, blow will follow blow, and sentences will increase in savagery in exact proportion to the tameness of the Irish people, until at last the death penalty will once more strike down those who embody the rebellious people of the Irish race. Oh, it is all well planned. Their fathers in Hell could not have planned it better!

THE "IRISH VOLUNTEER" ARTICLE

"Sás a dhéanta chuimhuigh air." Those who are capable of a sharp curve are capable of any amount of sharp curves. It comes easier by practice. Men who are not expert in the sharp curve may after all be just as "safe hands" as any. Our line is a straight line. We mean to go on with organizing, training, instructing, and arming, until the whole manhood of the Irish nation is no longer at the mercy of the plotters of unconstitutional violence at the Carlton Club, the Kildare Street Club, or the Curragh Camp. We are not in a hurry. We have never promised that this year of grace and other things, 1914, would be the Home Rule Year. For my own part, long before trouble was forced upon us, instead of promising rash things, I have told Irish Volunteers and those whom I asked to become Irish Volunteers that they had to build up from the foundations, and that they ought to

be well satisfied if they succeeded in building something solid and invincible within three years, or ten years, or even twenty years. The man that cannot face whatever length of time is necessary for sure and steady constructive work is no man for Ireland. We have to plant a hardy tree, not a hothouse ornament to be cut down by the first frost.

* * * * *

The imperial crisis has blotted out the boundaries of English parties. Here is an official announcement: "Mr. Balfour, Mr. Churchill, the Marquis of Crewe, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Lloyd George joined the Premier at 10 Downing Street yesterday (Dec. 16th). They *constituted themselves* a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence. Mr. Churchill left the Admiralty, but the other Ministers remained in conference. Mr. Balfour, Sir Edward Grey, and the Marquis of Crewe, together with a general officer from the War Office, left together." Following this, we read a statement in the English press to the effect that a coalition government is in contemplation; that is, a Ministry composed of Liberals and Unionists.

* * * * *

The Irish people will be curious to know how their interests will be looked after. Mr. Balfour is evidently recovering his position as real, if not acknowledged leader of the Unionist Party. More than that, the Imperial crisis has given him a position of virtual power with the existing administration, and that position may at any time obtain formal and official recog-

nition. The "Sub-Committee of Imperial Defence" is no sub-committee. Sub-committees do not announce that they have "constituted themselves." This particular committee may be able to exercise even greater powers than the Cabinet. The London *Times,* in a recent editorial, stated bluntly that Ireland is now under "martial law." The Cabinet does not administer martial law. It looks as if, to all intents and purposes, the "Home Rule" government has ceased to exist as the real government.

* * * * *

While party lines are obliterated in England, and while the Cabinet has obliterated its own lines of Irish policy, one party, the Unionist Party, has not been induced by the Imperial crisis and the dictates of patriotism to obliterate one letter or line of its hostility to Home Rule and to Irish Nationality in every shape and form. On the contrary, every responsible Unionist pronouncement with regard to Ireland since the crisis began has been as hostile to the Irish national position as if there were no war and no crisis. Certain "Nationalist" organs have been so busy in denouncing mere Irishmen, reviling "Sinn Feiners," and demanding the head of the Gaelic League, that they have none of their choice language to spare for the attitude of Unionist leaders who are now hand in glove with the "Home Rule" Ministry and may shortly be hand in hand with them and the glove off.

What is Mr. Balfour's position? To him, as far as we know, the Irish Nationalist is still the Irish Enemy.

He has not receded one inch from his support of the policy of unconstitutional violence against Ireland. His last great pronouncement on Irish affairs was his demand for the "clean cut," the separation of all Ulster from Ireland. He has not qualified that demand. With tears in his voice, he admitted that the case against Home Rule for three-fourths of Ireland was as good as lost, and his colleagues confessed that the decisive factor in that conclusion was the rise of the "new complication," the Irish Volunteers. All the more eagerly Mr. Balfour demanded the "clean cut," the amputation of Ulster, Nationalists and all, Patrick's Armagh, Columba's Derry, Down of the Three in one Grave, Tyrone of the O'Neills, all Ulster of glorious history, from Ireland, in duritatem odii, for the perpetuation of hatred and discord. The Imperial crisis has not caused Mr. Balfour's patriotism to recant one syllable.

* * * * *

If it is patriotism for English statesmen to lay aside their party differences, and for some of them to shelve their most solemn compacts, during an Imperial crisis, what are we to say of the patriotism of the *Freeman's Journal* and its adjuncts? We are in the greatest crisis of Irish affairs since the Famine, the greatest purely political crisis since the Union. In this crisis, while the anti-Irish policy in its most aggravated form still holds the field unshaken and unrepentant, some of our patriots can find no enemy to attack but an Irish enemy. The "Sinn Feiners," who take their

stand on an international treaty, the Renunciation Act of 1783, and declare the Act of Union to be a violation of that treaty, effected by fraud and force, never accepted by the Irish nation, and therefore held to be null and void in respect of moral obligation—these, we are told, and not the unrepentant anti-Irish oligarchy of England, are the enemy. We can remember when it was still a point of honour with constitutional Nationalists to take the part of the most extreme Nationalists against British statesmen, and when the *Freeman,* even the *Freeman,* denounced Mr. Asquith, Home Ruler, for "banging the prison door" on Irish political "felons."

* * * * *

In Mr. Redmond's Limerick pronouncement there was nothing new. Certain features of previous pronouncements were absent, notably, if the report I have read is adequate, the denunciation with opprobrious terms of those who are convinced that his attitude toward the Volunteers has been unnecessary, unwarranted, and unfruitful. He said in Limerick—we take him as addressing Volunteers—that a certain course of conduct was dictated by honor, by justice, and by policy. By honor, because of the enactment of Home Rule. By justice, because of the sufferings of Belgium and the French Cathedrals. By policy, in the hope of converting anti-Irish prejudice.

* * * * *

On the question of honor, I must refer once more to the London *Times.* In an editorial of December 7th, the *Times,* probably bearing in mind a famous say-

ing of Daniel O'Connell about its praises, professes to be anxious to help Mr. Redmond by encouraging the suppression of certain "rags." The *Times* gives the word "rags" as a quotation. The *Times* says, in the course of this article, that Ireland is at present under, not Home Rule, but Martial Law, and does not even suggest that it looks forward to Ireland coming at any time under Home Rule. Is it ordinary common sense or "political insanity" to think that the obligations of honor will not begin until what the *Times* calls Martial Law, administered by an external authority, gives place to Home Rule administered by a National authority? We have a check signed for Home Rule, or, if we have not got it, it is there in the Check Book. Before the check was signed and left in the Check Book, the drawers of the check openly withdrew from the bank a large part of the funds that were to meet the check, and at the same time they postdated the check to the year "after the war." Are we bound in honor to honor that sort of check with prompt payment?

* * * * *

It is not only that what the *Times* calls Martial Law is administered instead of Home Rule, government according to Irish ideas, etc. We have the authority of the *Freeman* for stating that the particular acts of administration commended by the *Times* are injurious to Mr. Redmond's position, and therefore presumably done against his wish. What obligations of honor are created by this special brand of Home Rule?

"Life is too short for reading inferior books"—Bryce.

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